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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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11 January 1985

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

USSR'S CHERNENKO ON ARMS TALKS WITH U.S.

OW192044 Beijing XINHUA in English 1944 GMT 19 Dec 84

[Text] Moscow, 19 Dec (XINHUA)--Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko today put the ball in the U.S. court when he was commenting on the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. talks on arms control.

In a meeting with visiting Maltese Prime Minister Dom Mintoff here, Chernenko said, the results of the talks "will depend to a great extent on whether the United States takes a sincere and constructive attitude towards the negotiations." "There is no problem in the Soviet side," he added.

Mintoff, who arrived here Monday for his first official visit to the Soviet Union since becoming leader of the Mediterranean island state, told the Soviet leader that his government will continue to pursue a policy of non-alignment and neutrality.

The two leaders agreed on the need for a peaceful and cooperative Mediterranean region and jointly called for the withdrawal of warships carrying nuclear weapons from the Mediterranean and for no nuclear arms to be deployed in the non-nuclear countries of the region.

Both expressed satisfaction with the development of political, trade and economic relations between the two countries.

CSO: 4000/065

GENERAL

U.S., USSR CONDUCT UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TESTS

OW190212 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0142 GMT 17 Dec 84

[Text] Stockholm, 16 Dec (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union today detonated a strong underground nuclear explosion at its nuclear testing round in Semipalatinsk in each Kazakh, the Swedish Telegraph Bureau reported.

According to the report, the Swedish Seismological Institute in Uppsala said the blast, which registered 6.8 on the Richter Scale, occurred at 05.02 a.m. (Swedish time) early in the morning on 16 December.

The United States announced on 15 December that it conducted this year's 1rth underground nuclear test at its nuclear testing ground in Pahute Mesa, Nevada.

CSO: 4000/064

GENERAL

LIAOWANG SELECTS 10 TOP 1984 NEWS STORIES

OW221732 Beijing XINHUA in English 1643 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Text] Beijing, 22 Dec (XINHUA)--The Chinese weekly OUTLOOK selected in its 24 December issue the world's top 10 news stories for 1984. They are:

--the Chinese economic reforms adopted by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party;

--the death of Soviet leader Yuriy Andropov;

--the reelection of Ronald Reagan as U.S. President;

--the assassination of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi;

--the signing of the Sino-British joint declaration on the question of Hong Kong;

--the resumption of economic and Red Cross talks between the north and south parts of Korea;

--the signing of the Lusaka agreement between Angola and South Africa and of the Nkomati accord of non-aggression between Mozambique and South Africa;

--the exchange of visits by heads of government between East and West European countries;

--the Cartagena Conference of Latin American indebted countries and the establishment of the institution to promote debtor-creditor dialogues;

--the severe drought in Africa that plagued more than 50 countries and affected 150 million people.

CSO: 4000/065

GENERAL

ROMANIAN PRESIDENT MEETS SOVIET PLANNING OFFICIAL

OW220743 Beijing XINHUA in English 0644 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Dec (XINHUA)--Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and Chairman of the Soviet Planning Committee N. K. Baybakov stressed the importance of expanding bilateral-trade and long-term cooperation between their two countries when they met here today.

Baybakov, who is also vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, arrived here on 17 December to attend the Romanian-Soviet economic talks.

Ceausescu and Baybakov also exchanged views on a number of international issues. Both stressed the need to halt the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, to carry out disarmament and to eliminate the threat of war.

Economic talks between Baybakov and Romanian First Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Oprea were focused on the two countries' cooperation programs ranging from fuel, raw materials, machinery and consumer goods. Both sides agreed to begin preparations for a long-term economic and technological cooperation program up to the year 2000.

CSO: 4000/065

GENERAL

U.S. ALLOCATES \$200 MILLION TO AID SUDAN

OW261108 Beijing XINNUA in English 1032 GMT 26 Dec 84

[Text] Khartoum, 26 Dec (XINHUA)--The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has allocated 200 million U.S. dollars in aid to Sudan for fiscal year 1984-1985 starting last October.

Of this sum, 120 million dollars will be used for importing commodities, 28 million dollars for development projects and the remaining 52 million dollars for purchasing wheat, the Sudan News Agency reported.

USAID will also contribute 102 million U.S. dollars to Sudan for the construction of Kost-el Obeid Road and help Sudan finance its road-building, farming, health and energy projects.

USAID provided Sudan with 270 million U.S. dollars in the past fiscal year.

CSO: 4000/065

GENERAL

FIVE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE DISCUSSED

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [STUDIES IN LAW] in Chinese No 2,
23 Apr 84 pp 84-90

[Article by Pan Baocun [3382 2128 1317]: "The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and Modern International Law"]

[Text] The present article elaborates on the main content and meaning of the five principles, on the objective conditions they created and on their important role in the readjustment of international relations, in the fight against imperialism and hegemonism and in the preservation of world peace.

It has now been exactly 30 years since the five principles of peaceful coexistence, namely mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence, were first advocated by China and then jointly initiated between China and India and between China and Burma. In our present era, when there is a constant progress in international social conditions, there is also a constant progress in international law. In the progressive development of these 30 years, the five principles of peaceful coexistence have deeply impressed themselves on people's minds, have become a basic principle of contemporary international law and have also become a basic norm for contemporary international relations. The splendid practice of international relations over the last 30 years has made us understand more profoundly that the five principles of peaceful coexistence completely accord with the objective laws of international social development and that they are imbued with great scientific meaning.

The five principles of peaceful coexistence have not just fallen from heaven and are also not the phantom of some single person's imagination. Guided by Mao Zedong Thought, the five

principles of peaceful coexistence are the crystallization of a summing up of the contemporary practice of international relations. They reflect scientifically the objective law of the present international social developments and conform with the special characteristics and demands of the present times.

I. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Present International Legal Order

At the end of World War II, a United Nations Organization was established. Due to the emergence throughout the world of a series of socialist countries and of independent national democratic countries, the United Nations was a much more progressive body than the former League of Nations. At the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "The emergence of the third world on the international stage after the war is a major event in our era. The third world changed the condition of the United Nations from one of being exclusively a voting machine manipulated by certain large countries to the present condition of providing an arena for the righteous condemnation of imperialism, hegemonism and expansionism." The international legal order undergoes changes according to the relative relations of power between the nations. The emergence of the third world impelled the international legal order forward to become a decisive force of progress. We must study this new international legal order scientifically and give further encouragement to its continuous development.

What, then, is the true nature of the present international legal order? We must institute a scientific study of this question in the spirit of seeking truth from facts; any doctrine of pure subjective conjecture will not answer the question. Facing the reality of international society, we must gain a scientific understanding. The international society is composed of many independent sovereign countries. Sovereignty is the most essential element in a country's existence. International law is a collection of norms governing the relations between sovereign states, norms which themselves have been created by the explicit or tacit consent or acceptance of sovereign states. The effectiveness of international law is based on the sovereign will of the various countries. **Basdevant**, a French scholar of international law, pointed out that the judgements of international judicature have proven that sovereignty is the foundation of the international legal order. The current international legal order starts out from the principle of state sovereignty. From the standpoint of international law practice, sovereignty is regarded as the highest right of independence in relation to the rest of the world. The principle of sovereignty is the

most important basic principle of international law. According to the generally acknowledged basic principles of international law, each country, acting within the limits of its sovereign rights, must not be subjected to commands and compulsions by any other authority and must not allow external interventions. The so-called protectorates, satellites, spheres of influence and other such systems as well as ideas of limiting sovereignty on the pretext of forming "one big family" or declaring "natural friendship," practices adopted by imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, are infringements on another country's independence and sovereignty and are all fundamentally violations of the principle of sovereignty of states. A sovereign country may accept restrictions of its sovereign rights only by its own genuine will and as an action of its sovereign right. If a strong country uses any form of pressure to force another country to sign unequal treaties or pretends to act on the request of another country when it actually interferes in the internal affairs of that other country, or when it even goes so far as to stage a military invasion, that is not acting according to the true wishes of the sovereign country so impinged upon; acts of this nature would be illegal acts that violate the principle of sovereignty of that country. Sovereign states must not be forced to submit their international disputes to arbitration or adjudication, and without their consent, their actions and property are not subject to the jurisdiction of a foreign law court. There are presently some national law courts of certain states that frequently summon another country's government and even pass judgements against some other country's government; these are acts that seriously infringe upon the sovereign rights of that other country.

The principle of sovereignty of every state was acknowledged and guaranteed in the Charter of the United Nations. The preamble to the charter solemnly proclaims the belief in "the equal rights of all nations large or small." The charter also affirms in its Article 1 that the purpose of the United Nations is "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples." Its Article 2 specially stipulates: "The organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members," and also proclaims that there shall be "no interference in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state." The fundamental spirit of the UN Charter reveals to us that sovereign independence and equality are the core of the contemporary international legal order. In our present international society, the violation of another country's right to sovereign independence and equality constitutes an infringement of the normal international legal order.

It has to be pointed out that since World War II, some Western scholars of international law, especially Jessup of the United States, Lauterpacht of England and others, have advocated to whittle down and depreciate the sovereignty of states and, furthermore, to rank state sovereignty below international law or international organizations, which in its actual effect would abolish state sovereignty. They confound the fundamental distinction between internal legal order and international legal order and put forward some such idea as of a "joint sovereignty," or even go so far as to demand that each country turn over a part of its sovereignty to enable an international legislature. In actual fact, international law is created by the will of the various sovereign states; sovereignty is the foundation of international law. Negating state sovereignty is shaking the foundations of international law. Looking at the practice of international relations, it is also impossible to negate the concept of state sovereignty. In international relations, the concept of state sovereignty has taken deep roots in the minds of the people, so that there is no country that does not emphasize state sovereignty. It is universally acknowledged that there must be no infringement of a state's sovereignty. Sovereignty is a sacred right which a state will always protect in any international struggle. Especially the third world countries will place particular stress on state sovereignty and the protection of rights and interests as a way of resisting aggression and interferences by the imperialism and hegemonism of the more powerful states.

The government of the PRC advocated in 1954 that the five principles of peaceful coexistence were to guide international relations and were also to implement in concrete terms the principle of state sovereignty. Moreover, the way the five principles are formulated, namely mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, mutual noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence, they are to be provisions of rights and obligations of legal nature and as such impart an even higher degree of legal character to the principle of state sovereignty. It is made completely clear to us that the five principles are the fundamental principles for our contemporary international law and are a fundamental outline for the international legal order. The words that stand out conspicuously in the five principles are "mutual" and the "co" in coexistence, which is exceedingly important for our international legal order. In the execution of its own sovereign rights, no country must infringe on another country's sovereignty. In international relations, all sovereign countries are independent and equal, and no country must impose its own sovereign will on another

country. The first of the five principles, the mutual respect for territorial sovereignty and territorial integrity, comprises every country's right to sovereignty as well as its obligation to respect the sovereignty of every other country, neither of these two aspects can be dispensed with. Otherwise, where would there be any international legal order? The mutual nonaggression comprises the right of every country to be free from aggression as well as the obligation not to launch aggression against any other country. The aggression against another country is a serious act of international violence, for which international responsibility must be assumed. If it is a serious act of aggression, a thorough inquiry into the international criminal responsibility must be instituted. The adjudication of war criminals at the end of World War II made it very clear that the crime against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity as serious criminal acts that violate international law. To maintain normal legal order in the present international society, there must be not only rules and regulations of international law to go by, but also the thorough investigation of legal responsibilities according to international law. To be sure, the present international society can not yet have the coercive power that a society has internally within a state, but to preserve the normal working of the international society, it is absolutely necessary to have an international legal order, and there have to be sanctions in case of contraventions against that international legal order. If there is absolutely no law of any kind between nations, there will be nothing but a great chaos under heaven. The lessons of two world wars must not be forgotten another time. The principle of mutual nonintervention in the internal affairs also comprises both a right and an obligation. This clause is also of the utmost importance for the maintenance of the normal international legal order. The imperialist countries of the past and the hegemonist superpowers of today have always been and are still committing their hegemonist acts by interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. To preserve the normal legal order between all nations, this state of affairs must not be allowed to continue. It is therefore also necessary to conclude detailed agreements between nations based on these principles and furthermore adopt measures that will restrain hegemonist interferences. Equality and mutual benefit as well as peaceful coexistence are principles evolved from the positive relationships between nations. Equality is not only a formal equality but, more importantly, a substantial equality. Linking equality and mutual benefits together in this way will render the equal relations between nations more rational. In the past, certain powerful nations used formal equality to conceal inequality in substance, a state that resulted in many substantially unequal treaties. If that is not a disguised

form of having the powerful bully the weak and the wealthy cheat the poor? This is not a fair and reasonable international legal order. Human society must always move in the direction of progress, and no country can cut itself off from the world and stand alone. Between all nations there has to be peaceful coexistence and international organization. The world has progressed, international society has progressed and all countries of the world, regardless of their different social and economic systems, must exist peacefully. This must not only be limited to a peaceful coexistence but must, even more necessarily, comprise peaceful conduct toward each other, mutual understanding, peaceful resolution of international disputes and mutual cooperation between nations. This clause is therefore of even greater significance for normal international legal order. Peaceful coexistence is in actual fact the normal condition in contemporary international relations, and the preservation of the international legal order is nothing else but preservation of a universal condition of peaceful coexistence.

Since the 1970's, the question of the international legal order has been put on the agenda of the day and is, furthermore, receiving very serious attention. With the advance of a new international economic order in the 1970's, a new international legal order came into prominence. If there would be no fundamentally new legal order, there could be no talk of any other new international legal order or world order. It is true, for the establishment of a new international legal order it is necessary to have a whole set of favorable conditions. In a certain sense, the international legal order is the reflection of the power ratio between nations. There has to be a process of struggle as the progressive forces and the reactionary forces grow or decline and as the new international legal order takes form and is normalized, and it will not be possible to solve the problem by merely relying on some proclamations and treaties. The five principles of peaceful coexistence pose a question of fundamental principle for the contemporary international legal order. In a certain sense, they actively impel the establishment and development of a new international legal order.

II. The Content and Significance of the Five Principles

The "Proclamation on the Establishment of Friendly Relations and Cooperation Between Nations According to the Charter of the United Nations as a Principle of International Law," for short called the "Proclamation on the Principles of International Law," passed by the UN General Assembly on 24 October 1970, is an extremely important new development of the contemporary principles of international law. The proclamation

has a great impact because it was passed by the the UN General Assembly. Moreover, toward its end the proclamation declares: "The statutory principles contained in this proclamation shall constitute fundamental principles of international law, and this proclamation therefore appeals to all states to observe these principles in all their international actions and to strictly observe them as the foundation for the development of future relations between all states." The resolution in the form of a proclamation by so important an organ as the UN General Assembly, consistent with the purpose and principles of the UN Charter, actually constitutes as such a document of international law and plays an extremely important role in the development of international law. The seven principles contained in the "Proclamation on the Principles of International Law" have therefore become universally recognized fundamental principles of international law. The seven principles are:

1. "In its basic international legal relations, every country must abstain from aiming at the infringement of any other country's territorial integrity or political independence or from the use of any other form of threat or armed force inconsistent with the pupose of the United Nations."
2. "Every country must resolve its international disputes by peaceful means, in order to avoid endangering international peace, security and justice."
3. "According to the Charter, every country is bound not to interfere in affairs that are within the internal jurisdiction of any other country."
4. "According to the Charter, every country has the obligation to extend mutual cooperation."
5. "Every nationality shall enjoy equality and self-determination."
6. "Every country is equal in its sovereign rights."
7. "Every country must fulfill the obligations of the Charter with utmost sincerety."

This proclamation is a detailed elaboration of seven basic principles of international law, which symbolizes a great progress in contemporary international law. The five principles of coexistence are in spirit completely identical with these seven principles, which, however, in their provisions display more prominently a legal logic and the summary nature of the principles. "Mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity" relates to items 1, 5 and 6 of the

"Proclamation on Principles of International Law." "Mutual nonaggression" relates to items 1 and 2 of the proclamation. "Noninterference in internal affairs" relates to item 3 of the proclamation. "Equality and mutual benefit" relates to items 5 and 6 of the proclamation. "Peaceful coexistence" relates to items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the proclamation. In its summary section, the proclamation points out: "The interpretation and implementation of the various principles is to be interrelated, and each principle must be interpreted in the light of all other principles." The five principles of coexistence comprise the integrated essence of the seven items of the proclamation, grasp the special character of their mutual interconnection, gives the content of the seven items of the proclamation a more concentrated, more scientific and more logical form and in certain important points represents a further development. In the following, we shall elaborate on the meaning of the five principles.

The First Principle: Mutual Respect for Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity

We have earlier pointed out that sovereignty is the foundation of the contemporary international legal order. This principle gives prominence to the principle of state sovereignty in combination with the most important component of state sovereignty--territorial integrity; the article covers overall content as well as the focal point of the principle. By combining sovereignty with territorial integrity in its formulation, the legal purposiveness is intensified. Not only does this one item represent the general program of the five principles, but it also summarizes the state's basic rights and obligations in the traditional international law. The state's basic rights, such as the right to independence, to self-defense, to equality and jurisdiction are in essence inseparable from the state's sovereignty; they are extensions from state sovereignty. However, some Western scholars often onesidedly emphasize the state's rights and ignore its obligations. This is not only theoretically unscientific, in that it ignores the unity of rights and obligations, but this onesided formulation easily lends itself to misuse by power politics when one's own sovereignty is regarded as a right to do as one pleases, to act like an overlord, enabling wilful violations of the sovereignty of other countries. Could one in such cases still speak of any international law? Beyond that, there are some Western scholars who go even so far as to radically negate the rights of other countries. This amounts to rendering direct service to imperialist aggression against the sovereignty of other countries.

By pointing out the need for mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, we not only emphasize the principle of state sovereignty and of the basic rights of a country, but also the basic obligations of a state. There is a unity of legal rights and obligations. "There are no rights without obligations and also no obligations without rights." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 136) Our formulation is therefore of a stronger legal scientific nature and more in line with legal logic compared with traditional international law. Formulating the principle in this way is better capable to combat power politics and to protect the international legal order.

The Second Principle: Mutual Nonaggression

This principle is a direct extension of the principle of state sovereignty, and is, furthermore, the important guarantee for the principle of state sovereignty. The major manifestation of a violation of the first principle is aggression against another country's sovereignty and territorial integrity. All aggressive wars start with a violation of this principle. Many treaties of nonaggression have been concluded in the past, but obligations from bilateral treaties have never been able to fundamentally restrain the actions of imperialist aggressors. As we now raise this principle to the height of a principle of international law, it is in a better position to combat aggressive wars and to protect world peace. The 1970 "Proclamation on Principles of International Law" provide a detailed clarification of the meaning of the said principle (see above), making it very clear and definite. Closely related to this principle is the question of defining aggression. On 14 December 1974, the United Nations passed a resolution on the definition of aggression. This definition consists of a preface and seven articles and is undoubtedly one step further in the progress of international law, but there are still serious flaws in the said definition. First, the said definition limits aggression to acts of armed aggression and does not refer to other forms of aggression, while in the reality of modern international life the superpowers use a great variety of forms in their aggressive expansionist policies. As the formulation now stands, it absolves the superpowers from guilt in a number of criminal acts committed by them. The meanings of some clauses in the definition are vague and offer large loopholes in their interpretation. In particular, the definition leaves the superpowers an opportunity to utilize their position as permanent members of the Security Council to defend their aggressions in the Security Council, and, if necessary, make indiscriminate use of their veto power, rendering the Security Council incapable of censuring the aggressor or to voice support for the injured

party. Even though there is need for a further perfection of definitions for the rights and obligations of states as regards mutual nonaggression, there is in any case not the slightest doubt that the said principle is now a basic principle of contemporary international law.

The Third Principle: Noninterference in Internal Affairs

This principle too is a direct extension of the nature of state sovereignty. In order to safeguard the independence of every state, it is necessary to firmly uphold the principle of noninterference in internal affairs. Even though the principle of noninterference was already put forward as early as in the French Constitution of 1793, it became something of an empty shell when capitalism developed into imperialism. Imperialism by its very nature is incompatible with noninterference as fire is with water. The imperialists have therefore long ago abandoned the democratic principles of the bourgeois revolution and constantly engage in interferences in other countries' internal affairs in a variety of forms and under all kinds of pretexts. While Western scholars of international law have indeed acknowledged the principle of noninterference, they have at the same time given distorted interpretations of the principle of noninterference to pander to the imperialist policies of interference and aggression. For instance, the English scholar Oppenheim enumerated some instances of so-called interferences on the basis of power (for instance, interferences to protect one's nationals in foreign countries), which he regarded as not constituting infringements of another country's independence. Oppenheim and other Western scholars also advocated that interferences for humanitarian reasons or to maintain an equilibrium of power would be permissible.

In actual fact, present-day imperialism and hegemonism adopt a large variety of forms as they interfere in the affairs of other countries and use all their ingenuity to cover up their criminal actions. There are direct and overt interferences as well as indirect and covert interferences. In our present international society, the brutal armed interventions by imperialist and hegemonic countries are still common occurrences. They prop up puppet regimes in other countries and on the pretext of being invited in by that government carry out armed interventions, openly occupy another country's territory, commit wanton aggression against the sovereignty of another country, thereby seriously violating the international legal order and seriously endangering world peace. Putting an end to such serious violations of international law is a pressing need of our time. In carrying out interventions in other countries, imperialism and hegemonism use an even greater variety of indirect and covert forms. Some use forms of

financial and economic assistance, some dispatch secret agents to contact that country's antigovernment forces to carry out subversive activities. Conditions like these occur frequently on the international scene. In actual fact, they are the new tricks by imperialism and hegemonism in the execution of their aggressive and interventionist policies. We must therefore emphasize more strongly the right of every country to independence and self-determination. It is independence combined with self-determination that will resist the intervention by another country. Our advocacy of noninterference in internal affairs, particularly emphasizing the obligation that exists not to interfere in the internal affairs, is undoubtedly of extremely important significance for the maintenance of the contemporary normal legal order.

The Fourth Principle: Equality and Mutual Benefit

The right to equality is also part of traditional international law, but it is frequently only a formal equality, such as the courtesies in diplomatic intercourse between states. Of course this is also necessary, but to arrive at true equality between countries it is necessary to have equality in substance, as otherwise a mere formal equality will still lead to imposition of unequal treaties on some countries.

As we advocate equality and mutual benefit, we combine equality and mutual benefit into one principle. In the relationship between nations, mutual benefit can only be achieved if it is established on the foundation of equality, and true equality will be achieved only by conducting affairs on the basis of mutual benefits. This is undoubtedly an important development of the equality as it existed in traditional international law.

Fifth Principle: Peaceful Coexistence

The principle of peaceful coexistence was originally put forward by Lenin following the October revolution. The international situation at that time was such that the Soviet state found itself encircled by capitalist countries. The famous principle of "peaceful coexistence" among nations of different social and economic systems as proposed by Lenin meant existing peacefully side by side at the same time, which may also be called coexisting. At that time, this system played a role in holding off the aggression and intervention of the imperialist countries during the developmental stage of the Soviet state. However, our present international society has made great progress since Lenin's times. The number of socialist states has increased, and especially a large number of new national states have emerged and gained their independence.

International relations now comprise not only the relationships between countries with different systems, but also the relationships between countries with the same systems. In today's world we find not only the forces of imperialism still continuing to exist, but also hegemonism on the rampage. However, the emergence of the third world has created a decisive force for progress on the international scene, and in international relations it is no more so that imperialism rules everything under heaven.

We are proposing peaceful coexistence in this present state of international relations. The meaning of this principle is broad and realistic, in concrete terms it means: First, to coexist peacefully, i.e. states will not attack each other, not interfere in each other's affairs and not engage in subversive activities against each other. Second, to deal with each other in peaceful ways, i.e. states will have peaceful intercourse and foster mutual understanding. Third, to resolve international conflicts in a peaceful manner, which is supplementary to the principle of mutual nonaggression. Fourth, peaceful development and mutual cooperation, i.e. to start out from the benefits of the various countries concerned and from the benefits for humanity as a whole in the development of the positive sides of normal contemporary relations between countries and in the promotion of the progressive undertakings of mankind. We are therefore not only firmly upholding Lenin's principle of "peaceful coexistence," but shall, moreover, greatly develop this principle further.

The five principles of peaceful coexistence are of extremely important significance in the present international society. Today's world is, to put it briefly, striving to achieve three big tasks: one, safeguard world peace; two, combat hegemonism; three, promote human progress. The three big tasks are interrelated; they are the fundamental problems of today's world. To achieve these three big tasks it is necessary to firmly uphold the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

The contemporary international society is still a plurality of sovereign states coexisting in an orderly composite of separate powers. The five principles of peaceful coexistence are playing an extremely important role in maintaining the progressive international social order of today. First, the five principles are the foundation of the contemporary international relations. They clearly and definitely affirm independence and equality of state sovereignty. In our opinion the five principles accord exactly with the corresponding trend in present international law. Second, the five principles provide standards of conduct that must be observed in international affairs. The main function of

international law is to set norms for conduct and assumes a role in the control of society. The five principles are precisely fulfilling this important function of international law in an outstanding manner; they are therefore clearly of the character of legal principles. Third, the five principles provide a powerful weapon for the third world in their fight against imperialism and hegemonism. In today's world, the third world is a newly emerging force. The five principles benefit this newly emerging force on the international scene; they are a threat to the international forces of reaction. They help restrict the international forces of reaction and at the same time benefit promoting the development of the newly emerging forces on the international scene.

III. The Five Principles are Fundamental Principles of Contemporary International Law

The main function of international law is to set norms for conduct between countries and to play a role in controlling the international society. International law consists of legal norms that regulate relations between countries. Within the norms of international law that govern conduct, there are certain principles that run through the many specific principles, regulations and rules of international law. What are the elements of these basic principles in international law? In international documents and at international meetings of recent years, many propositions have been presented. Which of these principles may be recognized as having become principles of international law? This is a question to which scholars of various countries have set forth different criteria. Some have proposed that the resolutions of the UN General Assembly and of the Security Council are norms of international law. Others have proposed that the consenting opinions of the two superpowers have the effect and character of legal norms. The former opinion is a formal one which does not recognize the basic principles and essential elements of international law. The latter opinion is in actual fact the theory of hegemonism. We shall make a determined effort to explore scientifically the elements of basic principles in international law.

In 1982 professor Li-si-man [phonetic] of Yale University in the United States set forth three elements: first, content, which means that the content must accord with the demands of the international society; it must be rational, equal and progressive. Second, authority, which means that the organization that adopted the principle must have authority, for instance, must be an organization like the United Nations. Third, control of intention, which means that after a principle has taken shape, it must have the function of controlling the intentions of the parties, and its enforcement

or nonenforcement must not be left to the pleasure or whim of those concerned. Otherwise, it could not very well qualify as a principle. Soviet scholars are of the opinion that the basic principles of international law are the comprehensive system of generally accepted norms of universally binding power.¹

A Chinese scholars once stated: "According to the cases provided by the international practice of recent years, norms that constitute international law must on the whole have the following three elements: first, their content must be consonant with the direction of historical progress and must conform with international legal principles generally recognized by the international society. Second, they must have gained acceptance by the international society to ensure their validity and must also show that they are representing the interests of the majority of countries. Third, they must show a certain legal form and must have undergone a certain legal procedure."² Some scholars have pointed out: what is referred to as basic principles of international law must not be specific principles of certain particular territories, but must be of the scope of being recognized by all countries as having universal significance, applicable in all spheres of effectiveness of international law; these are the legal principles that constitute the basic legal principles of international law.³

The above propositions, generally speaking, contain scientific characteristics. If we submit them to a comprehensive study, we can summarize them as having four characteristics: First, progressiveness, i.e. they must conform to the progressive developmental direction of the international society. Second, authoritativeness, i.e. they must be universally accepted by the international society. Third, compelling force, i.e. they must be enforceable rules of international law. Fourth, they must be universally applicable, i.e. the basic rights and obligations between the states concerned stipulated in them must be applicable in the entire effective sphere of international law. According to these criteria, the five principles of peaceful coexistence can be said to be typical basic principles of international law. First, the five principles conform to the progressive developmental direction of the international society and manifest the regular legal order of the contemporary international society. The reason why they have become deeply rooted in the minds of the people during these 30 years is above all determined by this essential characteristic. Second, the five principles conform to the purpose expressed in the UN Charter and are also recognized in many bilateral and multilateral treaties, having truly gained universal recognition in the international society; they are

therefore endowed with a great measure of authoritativeness. Third, the five principles have the character of enforceable law. The "Vienna Convention on the law of Treaties" of 1969 explains the enforceability of law in these terms: "These are legal provisions which are accepted by the whole body of the international society. It is moreover agreed that they must not be violated or suppressed and can only be changed by later general international laws of the same character." According to this interpretation, the five principles of peaceful coexistence have the nature of enforceability as stipulated in the "Convention," namely, first, they are accepted by the entire body of the international society; second, it is generally acknowledged that they must not be violated or suppressed; third, they can only be changed by a later principle of equal character. In this sense, we are completely justified in regarding the five principles of peaceful coexistence as enforceable legal norms between countries, and not merely as some principles that can be adopted and abandoned at will. Fourth, the five principles manifest the basic rights and obligations of the state and have universal applicability. If the five principles are not observed between countries, international law has no reason for its existence. Moreover, certain other principles, rules, regulations and statutes of international law are in essence subordinate to or derivatives of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, and must, furthermore, conform to the spirit of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

Finally we may sum up by saying that the five principles of peaceful coexistence are upholding and developing the progressive principles of international law, are the pillars of the contemporary international order and the core of contemporary international law. In our studies of contemporary international law we cannot forsake the five principles of peaceful coexistence. They are the "headrope," only when the headrope of a fishing net is pulled up, will all its meshes open. This is our conclusion.

FOOTNOTES

1. Yi-ge-na-qin-ke Ao-si-ta-pin-ke [phonetic], chief ed. "International Law," (Chinese translation) p 81.
2. Sheng Yu [4141 1938], "On International Law and the Principle of Antihegemonism" in FAXUE YANJIU [LEGAL STUDIES] No 5 (1982).
3. Wang Tieyai [3769 6993 1509], "International Law," pp 48-49.

9808

CSO: 4005/215

UNITED STATES

SECRECY SURROUNDS U.S. SHUTTLE MISSION

OW182000 Beijing XINHUA in English 1931 GMT 18 Dec 84

[Text] Washington, 18 Dec (XINHUA)--The U.S. Defense Department announced Monday that extraordinary measures will be taken to protect the secrecy of the space shuttle Discovery's next mission, the first devoted exclusively to military purposes.

The shuttle Discovery is scheduled to take off on 23 January from the Kennedy Space Center at Cape Canaveral, Florida, but project officials refused to say how long it will remain in its orbit and over what parts of the earth it will be flying.

Chief Air Force spokesman General Richard Abel indicated at a news briefing here that similarly strict secrecy would apply to all future U.S. military shuttle missions. About a fifth of an estimated 70 shuttle flights in the next five years are expected to be military.

He added that some future military shuttle missions might be completely closed to the news media, with no advance information available.

The policy of restricting news of military shuttle flights was announced at a time of rising concern at home and abroad over an arms race in space between the United States and the Soviet Union. Soviet leaders, worried about how to keep pace with the U.S. in space technology and antisatellite weapons, have made every attempt to get the Western Europeans' increasing pressure on the United States to force it to drop its research and development of space weapons.

CSO: 4000/066

UNITED STATES

U.S. ANNOUNCES AID INCREASE FOR ISRAEL

OW200412 Beijing XINHUA in English 0250 GMT 20 Dec 84

[Text] Washington, 19 Dec (XINHUA)--The United States is expected to provide significant economic and military assistance to Israel next year, U.S. State Department spokesman John Hughes said here today.

An Israeli delegation is here to resume negotiations today for U.S. aid and is seeking a record 4.1 billion dollars in the next fiscal year and an additional 800 million dollars in emergency economic aid for this year.

"Both economic and security assistance levels for Israel next year, including the question of additional assistance, are being discussed with Israeli officials during the current sessions of the U.S.-Israel Joint Economic Development Group and the U.S.-Israel Joint Security Assistance Planning Group," added Hughes, who refused to give anything specific. The two groups were established during Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres' visit to the United States last October.

U.S. aid to Israel for this year is set at 2.6 billion dollars, the largest amount for any country. Israel had proposed earlier that military aid be increased by 700 million dollars to 2.1 billion dollars in fiscal 1986. In addition, they made clear that they would like an economic aid increase of 1.5 billion dollars over two years to help combat runaway inflation and severe balance-of-payments problems.

CSO: 4000/066

UNITED STATES

U.S. TO DEFER DECISION ON MORE AID TO ISRAEL

OW220846 Beijing XINHUA in English 0812 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Text] Washington, 21 Dec (XINHUA)--The United States will defer a decision on an Israeli request for 800 million dollars in addition aid on top of the 2.6 billion dollar aid it already obtained from Washington for this fiscal year.

Spokesman of the U.S. State Department John Hughes, commenting on the two-day U.S.-Israeli talks on "military and economic assistance and other issues," told reporters that the government's decision will be deferred "pending the adoption of an effective Israeli economic stabilization program and the determination of the utility of such additional assistance in supporting such a program."

Hughes added that the administration will, in the coming weeks, recommend to the congress "continued substantial levels of economic and military aid for the next fiscal year."

The spokesman did not disclose the figure of U.S. aid to Israel at the press conference. But the Israeli delegation, which arrived here on 19 December to resume negotiations with the United States, reportedly sought a record 4.1 billion dollars including an increase of 700 million dollars in U.S. military aid in fiscal 1986 as well as an additional 800 million dollars in emergency economic aid for fiscal year 1985.

As the Reagan Administration is trying to cut its budget and reduce the huge deficit, observers here believed, it has difficulties to declare unequivocally that it will provide the emergency aid requested by Israel, which is suffering an economic crisis and an inflation rate running at about 1,260 percent annually.

CSO: 4000/066

UNITED STATES

EGYPT REGRETS U.S. WITHDRAWAL FROM UNESCO

OW231644 Beijing XINHUA in English 1629 GMT 23 Dec 84

["Egypt Deplores U.S. Break With UNESCO"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Cairo, 23 Dec (XINHUA)--Egypt expressed its regret at the U.S. decision to withdraw from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as of 31 December.

Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butros Ghali said in a press release published here today that Egypt, on its part, would continue to cooperate with and support the UNESCO by all means and do whatever it could to help the organization perform its noble mission.

He stressed that Egypt would adhere to the principle of universality of world organizations and hoped that the U.S. absence from the UNESCO would not be long.

The United States had contributed 47 million dollars annually to the UNESCO, accounting for one-quarter of the organization's budget. Since last year, it has threatened to quit because of the UNESCO's third-world policies and budget. On 19 December, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs Gregory Newell stated that the United States would withdraw from the UNESCO as of 31 December 1984. He, however, added that the United States would consider rejoining the agency if the reforms demanded by the U.S. were carried out.

CSO: 4000/066

UNITED STATES

U.S. GRANTS TRADE CREDIT TO CENTRAL AMERICA

OW200316 Beijing XINHUA in English 0204 GMT 20 Dec 84

[Text] Washington, 19 Dec (XINHUA)--The U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) and the Export-Import Bank (EXIMBANK) of the United States today signed an agreement under which a 300 million U.S. dollar trade credit insurance program for Central America was created.

Under the agreement, AID and the EXIMBANK will work with Central American countries to facilitate credit from U.S. banks to those in that region.

EXIMBANK will provide short-term export credit insurance, guaranteed by AID, covering loans for U.S. exports of non-military goods and services for private sector use.

U.S. exports to Central America fell 16 percent from 1980 to 1983, but rose 12 percent in the first eight months this year, compared to the same period last year. The trade credit insurance program is expected to further increase U.S. export to Central America.

CSO: 4000/066

UNITED STATES

ENVOY TO U.S. RECEIVES HONORARY DOCTORATE

OW230852 Beijing XINHUA in English 0836 GMT 23 Dec 84

[Text] Washington, 22 Dec (XINHUA)--The University of Nebraska today conferred on Chinese Ambassador to the United States Zhang Wenjin a honorary degree, doctor of human letters.

The citation, presented to him at a ceremony, stated that the honorary degree was granted "in recognition of his long and distinguished career" in the Chinese foreign service and "with deep respect for his outstanding commitment to friendly and enduring relations between all the nations of the world."

Speaking at the ceremony, Zhang said that he was most grateful for the high honor which he regarded, above all, as an important gesture of the university's sincere friendship for the Chinese people and its strong commitment to Sino-American cultural exchanges.

CSO: 4000/066

SOVIET UNION

SHIJIE ZHISHI ON SOVIET POSTWAR MILITARY DEVELOPMENT

HK200630 Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 84 pp 2-3

["Special commentary" by Ke Yongzhen [0668 3057 4176]: "Development of Soviet Military Strength After the War"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] When the USSR possessed no nuclear weapons in the initial period after the war, Soviet military strategy was to cope with Western forces with mighty conventional arms while intensive efforts were made to develop atomic weapons: In the time of Khrushchev, attention was only paid to developing rockets and nuclear weapons and the importance of conventional war was negated; and in the time of Brezhnev and after, the USSR has made preparations to cope with both nuclear and conventional wars. In line with the development of military strategy, both the nuclear forces and the conventional forces of the USSR have made tremendous progress.

In today's world, both superpowers--the USSR and the United States--regard military strength as the basic power in striving for world supremacy. The USSR has always emphasized that strengthening military power "is one of the primary tasks." The Reagan administration in the United States also regards the strengthening of its military might as its basic national policy. Therefore, in order to understand the changing situation in the world and to strive for world peace, it is essential to closely watch the development and changes in the military strength of the USSR and the United States. This article attempts to discuss developments related to Soviet military strength with reference to the changes in Soviet military strategy in various periods after the war.

Important Readjustment in the Initial Period After the War

After the end of World War II, new combinations took place regarding the military and political forces of the world, and a new pattern appeared. This had a great influence on the establishment of the principles of various countries in developing their military strategies and weapons. In the

initial period after the war, in face of the grave fact that the United States possessed atomic weapons, the USSR, on the basis of summing up experiences in conducting a war of defense and in accordance with the new situation and tasks, carried out important readjustments in the principles of its defense construction while continuously carrying out the strategy of active defense. During the period from 1945 to 1953, or during the period under the leadership of Stalin, the USSR exerted great efforts in doing the following main tasks with regard to building up its national defense:

/1. Actively improve the conventional military technology and equipment of the Soviet Army./ Soviet military strategy in the initial period after the war was: Before mastery of its own nuclear weapons, the USSR should build up a mighty conventional force to deal with Western imperialism. However, because the primary task of the USSR at that time was to restore the national economy, which had been seriously sabotaged by the war, it had to reduce its military forces on a large scale. According to Soviet statistics, from May 1945 to the end of 1948 the total number of Soviet military personnel drastically decreased from 11.365 million to 2.874 million. Under these circumstances, in order that military superiority over Western Europe could be maintained, the main measures adopted by the USSR were to intensify its efforts in improving conventional technology and equipment. After efforts for some time, marked improvements were made in terms of the technology and equipment, firepower, and mobility in various service arms of the ground and air forces. By the end of 1952 the total quantity of ammunition used in a salvo by a unit of the land forces amounted to 37 tons, 7 times that used by the end of the war of defense. With regard to mobility, the capabilities of the infantry were not inferior to that of a group army during wartime. The air force had realized the transition from piston-type planes to jet planes, and it was successively equipped with planes such as the MIG-15, MIG-17, and the YAK-23. The speed per hour of these planes reached 1,200 kilometers, which was twice the greatest speed per hour of the best piston-type fighters produced toward the end of the war. In addition, while reducing its armed forces on a large scale, the USSR paid close attention to changes in the international situation and made timely and vigorous responses. For example, in 1949, less than 1 year after the completion of demobilization, because of the emergence of the "cold war," the USSR began to increase its military forces. In particular, during demobilization, officers who had been trained in higher military academies were not allowed to quit the army, which enabled the army to retain its core personnel for later expansion.

/2. Step up development of atomic weapons and break the nuclear monopoly of the United States./ As early as the beginning of 1943, the USSR had already started atomic energy research. At the end of 1946 the first uranium-graphite reactor began operation. In August 1949, its first atomic bomb was successfully tested. And in August 1953 the USSR succeeded in testing the hydrogen bomb before the United States. At the same time intensive efforts were being made to develop an atomic bomb carrier. In tackling this problem, the Soviet strategic approach was different from that of the United States right at the start. The USSR emphasized that the main strategic carrier of nuclear warheads should be long-range ballistic missiles, because they had the strong points, compared with planes, of long-range

target-hitting capabilities, not being vulnerable to outside attacks, being able to launch intensive surprise attacks, and being launchable at any time and in any weather conditions. In 1947 the USSR succeeded in producing its first P-1 type rockets, with which the Soviet Army was very soon equipped. Later, heavy-duty liquid rocket engines and ballistic rockets were developed and tested. In this period, although the atomic weapons of the USSR were at the initial stage and could not equal those of the United States, yet the development of atomic weapons from nothing into something was an important breakthrough.

/3. Restructure the Soviet Army so as to meet the needs of the development of the military situation./ At the end of the war the Soviet Army consisted only of three major armed services--the ground, naval, and air forces. Because the United States had achieved rapid development in terms of air units of strategic bombers and nuclear weapons, the role and significance of national air defense were greatly enhanced objectively. In order to cope with the new military situation, the USSR reorganized its national air defense army into an independent arm of the services in 1948 and equipped it with the most advanced supersonic interceptors and air defense rockets. Furthermore, the air force was organizationally strengthened. By the end of 1952, the proportion of the air force in the entire armed forces had doubled.

On the whole during this period, although the number of regular troops of the USSR was greatly reduced, very great improvements were made with respect to materials, technology, and equipment. In particular, the secret of the atom was grasped by the USSR within a short time, which laid the basis for catching up with the United States in nuclear weapons in later years.

The Period of Actively Developing Nuclear Arms

After Khrushchev came to power, he gradually grasped power over the party, government, and army of the USSR. During this period there were three major internal and external factors affecting the development of Soviet arms:

/1. Starting from the mid-1950's, the USSR was confronted with great pressure from the West in accelerating the pace of nuclear armament./ In 1954, the United States began to pursue its "massive retaliation" strategy. According to estimates by the USSR, up to 1961 the United States already had a total of 1,654 heavy and medium-sized bombers, over 94 percent of which could be used as carriers for strategic nuclear warheads. At the same time, the United States also deployed 28 intercontinental ballistic missiles as well as 5 nuclear submarines which could carry 16 "Polaris" missiles each. In addition, Great Britain and France also became countries with nuclear weapons in 1954 and in 1960 respectively. This objective situation prompted the USSR to step up its pace in developing nuclear weapons.

/2. In the latter half of the 1950's, the USSR achieved important progress in rocket technology./ In August 1957, the USSR successfully launched multistage intercontinental missiles, and in October the same year its earth satellite was launched into space. In the fall of 1959, its rocket reached

the surface of the moon, and in April 1961, Gagarin was launched into space. This series of scientific and technological achievements created the material and technological basis for the USSR to conduct the fundamental transformation of its army in the 1960's.

/3. Khrushchev changed the traditional military strategy, and put forward the "nuclear strategy of rockets," that is, preparations were made only for a nuclear war, and the possibility of conventional and local wars was negated; importance was attached only to developing nuclear ballistic weapons, and the importance of conventional arms was negated./ This strategic ideology once dominated the orientation of Soviet arms development. The characteristic points in this period were: 1) Reduce the conventional forces year after year, and cancel the production of part of the conventional weapons. Greatly speed up the production of nuclear ballistic weapons and gradually equip various services and arms with rocket weapons. 2) Attach importance to the training of military officers with respect to technological quality and proceed to conduct military training under conditions of use of nuclear weapons, and train military officers at various levels on a large scale. The structure of the officers ranks changed greatly and the proportion of engineering and technological personnel among officers increased sharply. In the entire Soviet Army the ratio between engineering and technological personnel and commanders rose from 1 to 4.2 at the end of the war of defense to 1 to 1.5. In addition, a system of war preparations which was compatible with modern wars was gradually brought about.

In this period, although outstanding achievements were made by the USSR in terms of nuclear ballistic weapons, which narrowed the gap between the USSR and the United States, the general strength of the USSR was still weaker than that of the United States.

The Period of Accelerating Full-Scale Arms Expansion and War Preparations

The mid-1960's to the present has been an important period in which Soviet military strength has developed tremendously. Particularly in the 1970's, under the disguise of "detente" and exploiting the opportunity of the United States' being entangled in the Vietnam war, the USSR "quietly built up a massive war machine." During this period the Soviet leading clique headed by Brezhnev summed up the lessons of the previous period in which the strategic nuclear weapons were developed one-sidedly, made important revisions on the "nuclear strategy of rockets," no longer held the view that every military conflict was bound to escalate to a nuclear war, and put forward the military strategy of making preparations for fighting "a nuclear war as well as a conventional war." With regard to the development of weapons, the principle of giving priority to developing the nuclear forces was inherited, but the practice of slighting conventional arms was changed, thereby entering a period of accelerating full-scale arms expansion and war preparations. After about 20 years of continuous expansion, the strength of various services and arms of the USSR has been greatly enhanced, and, when compared with the previous period, a strategic change has taken place:

/1. From being far behind the United States to attaining balance of power in terms of strategic nuclear forces./ According to estimates by the London Institute of Strategic Research, in 1964 when Brezhnev came to power, the USSR had a total of 510 intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and strategic bombers, which was approximately equal to one-quarter of the total possessed by the United States, thereby placing the USSR into a very unfavorable position. In the latter half of the 1960's, the USSR first concentrated its efforts in developing land-based intercontinental missiles, and by 1970 the number of its missiles overtook those of the United States. After 1973 the USSR achieved a technical breakthrough in terms of the miniaturization of its nuclear warheads. In 1975 the USSR began to deploy guided missiles with multiple warheads, and made important improvements in guidance systems. The West estimated that the accuracy in attack of the fourth-generation missiles of the USSR, the SS-19, approached that of the intercontinental missiles of the United States. Beginning from 1969 the USSR greatly accelerated the production and deployment of its submarine-launched ballistic missiles and overtook the United States in this respect by 1974. Beginning from the mid-1970's, with the exception of long-range bombers and the total number of strategic nuclear warheads, the USSR attained superiority over the United States with respect to the number of strategic guided missiles, the general equivalent of warheads, and the number of nuclear-powered submarines. The nuclear superiority of the United States no longer existed.

/2. Complete the building up of an offensive oceangoing navy and pose a challenge to the maritime hegemony of the United States./ In this period, the basic principle of the USSR in developing its navy was to build a massive nuclear fleet with guided missiles launched from underwater, strive to develop ship-carried air units, and actively strengthen air capabilities at sea. For this purpose a great quantity of nuclear submarines were built; its warships became more numerous and it began to build aircraft carriers toward the end of the 1960's; the land-based supersonic backfire-type bombers were delivered to the navy for use, and its air attack capabilities on distant seas were greatly improved. All this enabled the Soviet Navy to develop from a defense force for coastal waters to an oceangoing offensive force. This was another strategic change achieved by the USSR militarily after the nuclear superiority of the United States had been broken.

/3. Speed up the renewal of conventional weapons and extend the supremacy in terms of conventional weapons over NATO./ According to official estimates by the United States, from 1974 to 1982 the USSR produced over 6,000 tactical fighting planes, 54,000 armored vehicles (including tanks), and over 13,000 guns and rocket launchers, while in the same period the United States only turned out over 3,000 tactical planes, 11,200 armored vehicles, and 950 guns and rocket launchers. The USSR confessed that in the period of 10 to 15 years before 1977, the Soviet Army had developed its rockets for two to three generations, renewed most of its fighter planes, and the Soviet Air Force already used supersonic and all-weather planes equipped with missiles. At present the USSR enjoys obvious supremacy over NATO regarding conventional forces and most of the conventional weapons.

The development of the Soviet military strength has caused important changes in the general strategic situation, to the agitation of the West. After the Reagan administration came to power the United States adopted the principle of rapid expansion of arms. At present, the arms race and strife between the USSR and the United States are being intensified continuously and they are being expanded to outer space, which threatens the peace of the world even more gravely. The peace-loving people of the world are seriously concerned, obviously, over future tendencies regarding the development of the military strength of the USSR.

CSO: 4005/265

SOVIET UNION

USSR'S ARKHIPOV MAKES STATEMENT IN BEIJING

OW210607 Tokyo KYODO in English 0552 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Text] Beijing, 21 Dec (KYODO)--On arrival at Beijing Airport, Arkhipov said in a statement that development of Sino-Soviet relations serves interests not only of the peoples of the two countries, but also of international cooperation and world peace.

Arkhipov said his China visit is being viewed in the Soviet Union as showing a positive stream in recent relations between China and the Soviet Union.

On his meetings with Chinese leaders, Arkhipov said he would discuss with them mainly development of economic and technical cooperation between the two countries.

He said he is sure that there is great potential to expand working-level cooperation in the interests of the two countries.

Arkhipov added his meetings with Chinese leaders would be beneficial and conducive to strengthening Sino-Soviet relations.

CSO: 4000/067

BEIJING VIETNAMESE HAILS ARKHIPOV'S PRC VISIT

OW230955 Beijing in Vietnamese to Vietnam 1100 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Article by station commentator Hong Bo: "Welcome Deputy Chairman Arkhipov's China Visit"]

[Text] At the Chinese government's invitation, USSR Council of Ministers First Deputy Chairman Arkhipov arrived in China on 21 December on an official visit. He is the highest-ranking official of the Soviet government to make an official visit to China in more than 20 years.

During the 1950's, Deputy Chairman Arkhipov was specialist adviser general of the Soviet Union in China and a participant in preparing and implementing China's first 5-year economic development plan. For this reason, during this visit, he will discuss with leaders of the Chinese government and sectors concerned the issue of developing economic, trade, scientific, and technological cooperation between China and the Soviet Union. At the same time, he will have an opportunity to witness the situation in China's economic construction.

We are convinced that Deputy Chairman Arkhipov's visit will be warmly welcomed by the Chinese people throughout the country.

In the course of protracted revolutionary struggle and construction work, the Chinese and Soviet peoples cultivated a warm friendship and their contacts were very intimate. As everyone knows, these contacts were later basically interrupted. However, the Chinese people have continued to nurture friendly sentiments toward the Soviet people and to treasure the friendship between the peoples of the two countries. The Chinese government has been striving to improve and normalize the relations between the two countries.

China stands ready to maintain and develop its relations with all countries the world over, including the Soviet Union, on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. In the report on the government's work read at the second session of the Sixth National People's Congress in May 1984, Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out that China sincerely hopes to normalize Sino-Soviet relations and stands ready to develop economic, technological, and cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union. Peaceful coexistence between the two powers, China and the Soviet Union, is not only consistent with the basic interests and common desire of the two peoples but also beneficial to peace in Asia and in the world. The Soviet side has expressed the same sentiments.

In October 1982, at the Chinese government's suggestion and as a result of consultations, the special envoys of the Chinese and Soviet governments started Sino-Soviet negotiations in Beijing on normalizing the relations between the two countries. These negotiations have so far gone through five rounds and will continue.

Over the past 2 years, as a result of both sides' efforts, the two countries' contacts and relations in many spheres have been strengthened and developed. Recently, Comrade Chen Gi, representative of the Chinese Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, led a government trade delegation on a visit to Moscow. The two countries signed an agreement on goods exchange and payments for 1985 and also agreed to raise their trade volume to 3.6 billion Swiss francs, an increase of 35.7 percent over 1984. Held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, the trade negotiations this time yielded results which were satisfactory for both sides.

According to the protocol signed by both sides, China and the Soviet Union exchanged some 70 students during the 1984-1985 academic year.

The two countries' contacts in the scientific, technological, sports, public health, and cultural fields have further increased. The Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society have restored their relationship by reciprocating delegation visits and exchanging professional tourist teams.

All this proves that Sino-Soviet negotiations have spurred the development of contacts and relations between the two countries.

First Deputy Chairman Arkhipov is an old friend of China. His visit will be welcomed by the Chinese side in a friendly way. We hope that, through his visit, the relations between China and the Soviet Union will be further developed in the economic, trade, scientific, and technological spheres.

CSO: 4209/130

SOVIET UNION

LIAOWANG EXAMINES USSR'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

OW230652 Beijing XINHUA in English 0632 GMT 22 Dec 84

["Roundup: The Trends of the Soviet Economic Development (by Wang Chongjie)"]--
XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, 23 December (XINHUA)--How will the Soviet economy fare next year? OUTLOOK, a leading Chinese news weekly, in its issue to be published Monday has this dispatch from Moscow.

The Soviet economy this year has kept the growth rate for 1983 when a recovery started, and is expecting a further improvement next year. But the central issue decisive to further Soviet economic development remains: how to speed up scientific and technological progress and reform its management system so as to get the national economy onto the right course of intensive development.

According to official statistics, the national income for consumption and accumulation in 1984 will reach the planned target, or increase by 3.1 percent to total 498.5 billion roubles (647.4 billion U.S. dollars). In 1982, the growth rate was 2.6 percent.

The industrial output value will grow at a rate of 4.4 percent above the planned 3.8 percent slightly higher than the actual 4 percent of last year. The agricultural output value, however, will fail to reach the planned target but may be a little better than 1983's with the output of meat, milk and eggs gaining a big margin.

The Soviet Union experienced the sixth successive poor grain harvest this year although it is better than that in 1981 and 1982.

Some improvements have been made in the transportation and the income and welfare of the Soviet people this year.

Nineteen hundred eighty-five will be the last year of the 11th Soviet five-year plan (1981-85). Judging from the first four years' performance arduous efforts will have to be made for the fulfillment of the various planned economic targets. What is certain now is that the agricultural output value will fail to reach the planned figure with grain output still a far cry from the desired target.

In the first four years from 1981 to 1984, the Soviet economy has experienced a process from severe slump to gradual recovery. Over the past two years a number of measures have been adopted with regard to the Soviet economy, including the removal of unqualified leading officials, the tightening of labor discipline, and improvement of job responsibility systems.

Other measures include a readjustment of the proportion of the national economic make-up and a reinforced implementation of the food and energy programs, a shake-up of the backward transportation sector and a reform of the wage system in which the rate of wage increase surpasses the rate of productivity growth. All these measures, though useful in short terms, cannot solve the problems that have affected the economic growth of the Soviet Union for many years.

The Soviet leaders and specialists have realized that only by switching the economy to an intensive development could the present difficulties be overcome. This calls first for an economic restructuring and a speed-up of scientific and technological advances.

Experiments began from 1 January this year in 700 enterprises under five Soviet industrial ministries to expand the decision-making power and strengthen the responsibility of the enterprises.

The state limited and reduced its mandatory quotas leaving most of the plan targets to be decided by the enterprises themselves. And the enterprises have the right to decide how to use the funds allocated for their disposal. The state also rewrote the criteria of evaluating the management of enterprises in line with the requirements to raise economic efficiency.

Positive results have been reported in the experimental enterprises and the Soviet government has decided to expand the experiment next year to enterprises under 26 all-union and republic ministries. A collective-team contract system is now being pushed in agriculture.

Measures have also been taken to speed up the development of science and technology.

The Soviet Union is a country rich in natural resources and its industrial and agricultural production has reached a considerably large scale. If it can carry out reforms in earnest in the economic management system, vigorously boost science and technology, its national economy will surely show a new look.

CSO: 4000/067

NORTHEAST ASIA

NAKASONE HOPES FOR GROMYKO VISIT 'SOON'

OW192026 Beijing XINHUA in English 1903 GMT 19 Dec 84

[Text] Tokyo, 19 Dec (XINHUA)--Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone said here today he wished to meet Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko soon in Japan. But he regretted that the situation for Gromyko's visit was grave.

At a TV interview he pointed out that no Soviet government leader has visited Japan so far. He hoped Gromyko would visit Japan soon. However, he said this is the business of the Soviet Union.

Referring to his planned visit early next year to the United States, Nakasone said he would confer with U.S. President Ronald Reagan on peace and disarmament issues.

He urged the United States and the Soviet Union to conduct their talks in a reassuring way and said cooperation is needed first of all between Japan and the United States, between Japan and the United States on the one side and Europe on the other and between all countries. But to crown it all, the Soviet bloc must react by taking part in the talks, he said.

He hoped that the two superpowers could adopt reassuring measures to achieve concrete results in their nuclear disarmament talks.

CSO: 4000/067

NORTHEAST ASIA

BRIEFS

JAPANESE OPTICS EXHIBITION--Beijing, 18 Dec (XINHUA)--Nippon Kogaku K. K. is displaying its sophisticated Nikon products at an exhibition which opened here today. This is the first of its kind held by the Japanese company in China. On show at the five-day exhibition are microscopes, ophthalmological instruments, cameras, surveying instruments and projectors. During the exhibition, the Japanese company will hold seminars on seven subjects. Seiya Miyazaki, executive vice president of Nippon Kogaku K. K., told XINHUA the export of Nikon cameras to China had increased rapidly since the beginning of this year, estimated at about 1.6 million U.S. dollars. To tell Chinese users more about Nikon products, similar exhibits would be held in Guangzhou and Shanghai next year, he added. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1506 GMT 18 Dec 84 OW]

CSO: 4000/067

EASTERN EUROPE

PRC, BULGARIA SIGN GOODS EXCHANGE AGREEMENT

OW131114 Beijing XINHUA in English 1038 GMT 13 Dec 84

[Text] Beijing, 13 Dec (XINHUA)--A goods exchange and payment agreement between China and Bulgaria for 1985 was signed here this afternoon.

Wei Yuming, leader of the Chinese government trade delegation and vice minister of foreign economic relations and trade, and Petur Bashikarov, leader of the Bulgarian government trade delegation and first vice minister of foreign trade, signed the agreement on behalf of their respective governments.

Present at the signing ceremony were State Councillor and Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade Chen Muhua, Bulgarian Ambassador to China Doncho Donchev as well as members of the delegations of the two countries.

The agreement envisaged a wide-margin increase of the volume of trade between the two countries in 1985.

Before the signing ceremony Chen Muhua met the Bulgarian guests.

After they arrived here on 4 December at the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade the Bulgarian guests held talks on trade for 1985 with the Chinese side.

CSO: 4000/067

EASTERN EUROPE

BRIEFS

YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS LEAGUE 13th CONGRESS--Belgrade, 18 Dec (XINHUA)--The Yugoslav League of Communists had decided to hold its 13th National Congress sometime next year. The decision was made at the 15th meeting of the 12th National Congress of the league, which opened here today. It was also decided that a 99-member preparatory committee be set up to work out a draft program of action for the forthcoming congress. The draft program of action will make a full study of the causes of the country's economic and social problems and provide the answers. Dime Belovski, secretary of the presidency of the Central Committee of the league, made a report at the meeting on the preparations for the 13th National Congress and its tasks. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0301 GMT 19 Dec 84 OW]

CSO: 4000/067

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

BRIEFS

TORONTO, CANADA CONSULATE GENERAL OPENED--Toronto, 20 Dec (XINHUA)--The consulate general of the People's Republic of China in Toronto opened its office today. Mayor of Toronto Arthur Eggleton sent a special representative to the Chinese consulate to express his congratulation on the event. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0633 GMT 21 Dec 84 OW]

CSO: 4000/067

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BO YIBO ON HANDLING 'THREE TYPES OF PERSONS'

OW221148 Beijing XINHUA in English 1136 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Text] Beijing, 22 Dec (XINHUA)--A number of ultra-leftists who committed crimes and grave mistakes during the "cultural revolution" (1966-76) had long succeeded in staying hidden and even sneaked into leading bodies of the communist party, an official said here Friday.

He referred to party members who rose to prominence during the "cultural revolution" and indulged in beating and looting. A party committee decision last year called them "three types of persons" that must be expelled from the party during the current nationwide consolidation drive.

In a report on the drive's progress at a meeting attended by leaders of other parties and non-party people here yesterday, Bo Yibo, executive vice-chairman of the Central Party Consolidation Guidance Commission, said that sorting out these people was still difficult and many urgent problems remained to be solved.

He told the meeting that the party was determined to identify these people so that they would not sneak into leading bodies. At the same time, their errors should be made known to avoid similar mistakes in the future.

Those who searched others' houses and beat innocent people during the "cultural revolution," he said, could be forgiven and given jobs if they come to see their mistakes and made acceptable self-criticism, but they should not be admitted into leading bodies. The party also decided not to investigate former "red guards" who participated in fanatic activities at the beginning of the "cultural revolution," because they were too young to understand.

Veteran cadres who did good work in the years of revolutionary wars but made grave mistakes during the "cultural revolution" would be given certain jobs after they made sincere self-criticism, Bo added.

CSO: 4000/064

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

DEMOCRATIC, NON-PARTY LEADERS ON BO YIBO REPORT

OW221528 Beijing XINHUA in English 1444 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Text] Beijing, 22 Dec (XINHUA)--Leaders of democratic parties and non-party public figures consider that the consolidation project of the communist party has achieved the desired results in the first stage.

This morning the 100 or so non-communist public figures discussed the report on party consolidation made yesterday by Bo Yibo, executive vice-chairman of the Central Party Consolidation Guidance Commission.

They said that the party consolidation had made positive achievements in rectifying the party style, purifying the party organization, promoting economy and economic systems reform of and uniting all forces to work for the modernization drive.

Fei Xiaotong, vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League, said that since attention had been paid to guarding against the erroneous practice of the past of ruthless struggle and merciless attack, the party consolidation has promoted the unity of the people and social stability. There was no disruption of production or normal work, but, on the contrary, they were promoted during the party consolidation drive, he added.

Zhu Xuefan, vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang, said that because democratic parties were not required to rectify their style of work or readjust their organizations, the unity between the communist party and the democratic parties has been further strengthened during the party consolidation.

Some speakers considered that the party consolidation would promote the reform of the state institutions and thus shift from rule of man to rule of law. This is a key guarantee for the continuity of China's current policies, they added.

They also pointed out that with the expansion of the drive to the organizations at grass-roots level, where the views among some young people were still affected by leftist trend, more difficulties would be met with. But, they said, provided the current policies continue to be implemented the party consolidation will certainly progress smoothly.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CYL ELECTS NEW FIRST SECRETARY AT CONGRESS

OW141305 Beijing XINHUA in English 1225 GMT 14 Dec 84

[Text] Beijing, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--Hu Jingtao, [name as received] former member of the Secretariat of the Communist Youth League Central Committee, was elected its first secretary at the Third Plenary Session of the Youth League's 11th Congress here today.

The new leader of the 50 million-member youth organization, began to oversee the committee's everyday work in 1982. He was also elected an alternate member of the Communist Party Central Committee at that time.

Hu, a 1965 graduate of Qinghua University, will be 42 years old on Christmas Day. His experience includes serving as an instructor of a university art association and several years as a leader of provincial economic work in China's northwest Gansu Province. He has a reputation of being easy to get along with while pursuing a methodical work style.

Upon his election, Hu expressed his desire to gain the knowledge needed in his future work and in the present reform. He will take it as his motto to seek truth from facts and maintain the spirit of creativity, he said.

He also expressed his determination to work harder to bring substantial benefits to young people between the ages of 14 and 30 across the country.

The former first secretary, Wang Zhaoguo, now director of the general office of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, will relinquish his work on the Youth League Committee.

Today's meeting also decided that a national congress will be held and new members of the Central Committee elected in the fourth quarter of next year.

CSO: 4000/064

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CELEBRATIONS MARK BEIJING BISHOP'S CONSECRATION

OW211606 Beijing XINHUA in English 1501 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Text] Beijing, 21 Dec (XINHUA)--The fifth anniversary of the consecration of Bishop Michael Fu Tieshan of the Beijing Diocese was warmly celebrated here today.

The celebrations, sponsored by the Beijing Patriotic Catholic Association and the Administrative Commission, consisted of a high mass at the Church of the Immaculate Conception, at which Bishop Fu officiated, a tea party at the church afterwards, and a luncheon at a roast duck restaurant.

Bishop Fu is the third Chinese bishop of the Beijing Diocese in the past 379 years.

At the tea party, both clergy and laity praised the bishop for, over the past five years "scoring outstanding achievements in developing church affairs, living up to the expectations of all catholics."

An official from the government's Religious Affairs Department also expressed respect for Fu's talents and diligence shown in helping the government implement its policies on freedom of religion, promoting patriotism and safeguarding world peace.

Since 1979, the Beijing Diocese has reopened two churches, a seminary and a nunnery, and operates a cinerarium for catholics.

So far, the diocese has over 30,000 worshippers. The churches now offer all the seven sacraments and masses every day. On feast days, churchgoers number over 15,000.

The 42-year-old bishop told XINHUA: "Since I assumed the office of bishop, I have exerted my efforts to serve the church and my congregation. The implementation of the government's policies on religious freedom since 1978 has made my work easier."

He expressed the hope that he could promote patriotism and the church's work, and make greater contributions to the country's prosperity and the people's happiness.

Among the more than 700 participants in the celebrations were Feng Mingwei, vice-mayor of Beijing, leaders of the city's United Front Work Department, the Bureau of Religious Affairs of the State Council and the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, as well as representatives of religious groups and noted Catholics in Beijing.

It is learnt that students of the seminary and nuns in Beijing will join in celebrating the occasion tomorrow.

CSO: 4000/064

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PROFESSOR WRITES ON BUDDHIST INFLUENCE IN CHINA

OW260816 Beijing XINHUA in English 0646 GMT 26 Dec 84

[Text] Beijing, 26 Dec (XINHUA)--A Chinese professor of philosophy says that the influence of Buddhism in China "far exceeds the scope of religion. It permeates Chinese philosophy, art, literature, language, dance, music, architecture, medicine and even family and social life."

In an article on Buddhism and Chinese culture that appears in the latest issue of BEIJING REVIEW, Ren Jiyu of Beijing University says that since Buddhism was introduced into China nearly 2,000 years ago the Chinese people have come to regard it as part of their own traditional culture, and not as something foreign.

Ren, who is also a research fellow at the Institute of World Religion under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, notes that although the two cultures absorb from each other and permeate each other, yet each enriches itself and retains its own distinctive features. This is obvious in the brilliant achievements resulting from cultural exchanges and coexistence in peace between the two great nations, China and India, from more than 1,000 years.

When Buddhism was first introduced into China in 2 B.C., it was confined to the imperial families and aristocrats. It became popular in China between the third and the eighth centuries.

The professor holds that Buddhist culture was introduced into China through the circulation of books on the elementary knowledge of Buddhism; books about the system and norms of Buddhist monastic life and biographies and stories of Sakyamuni and other prominent Buddhist figures.

So far, the Han and Tibetan translations lead the world in volume as well as variety.

Professor Yu says the Chinese religious tradition held the good or evil deeds of a person would affect the lives of his descendants. This concept was alien to the theory of karma and opposed by Buddhism and was formed to suit the customs of feudal Chinese society.

The incorporation of Buddhism into Chinese tradition has a long history and achieved brilliant results. Philosophy and religion are a reflection to certain degrees of the social and economic life of the times, though the reflection is sometimes indirect or distorted, he says.

"Therefore, as researchers in this field, we must discover the pattern of its ups and downs in the course of history, trying to explain the course of change of Buddhism by looking into the effects of social history on Buddhism, not merely Buddhism itself, he says in conclusion.

CSO: 4000/069

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LABOR REFORM UNDER SOCIALIST SYSTEM EXPLAINED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 22 Oct 84 p 4

/Article by He Weimin /0149 3634 3046/: "A Brief Discussion of the Essential Characteristics of Labor Reform"

/Text/ Labor reform has always had a broad and a narrow sense. In the broad sense, it refers generally to all the work of the labor reform organ in enforcing punishment; in the narrow sense, it means that the labor reform organ, by means of specific productive labor, reforms the criminals. We will now explore the essential characteristics of labor reform in terms of its narrow sense.

(1) Punishment. One of the tools of the people's democratic dictatorship, the labor reform organ is an organ enforcing punishment on all counterrevolutionaries and other criminals. The labor reform enforced by it on the criminals is compulsory. In other words, according to the judgment rendered by law and under the condition of the deprivation or restriction of a criminal's personal freedom and deprivation or temporary suspension of his political rights, it forces him to perform labor and conducts a reformatory education on his thinking; therefore, such labor reform absolutely must not be confused with the voluntary labor production of the workers and peasants under the restraint of administrative discipline. Thus, labor reform, first of all, is a means to carry out a sentence, possessing a punitive nature endowed by law. However, such punitive nature in the legal sense does not signify punishing by hard labor or forcing the criminal to perform physical labor and suffer physical and mental pain. On the contrary, the criminal enjoys identical or similar treatment in labor intensity and labor protection as workers in the same type of work in state-owned plants and mines and farms.

(2) Education. Labor reform and educational reform are the two basic means employed by the labor reform organ to reform the criminal. Both are a process of discarding the old to make way for the new, transforming the ideology and cultivating morals and knowledge and skills. The effect and goal are to reform the criminal, through his own acts, into "a law-abiding citizen supporting the socialist system and useful to the socialist construction." Obviously, the reform described here is completely identical to the essence of education expounded in the theory of pedagogy. In other words, whether the regular education conducted in society or the special education conducted by the labor reform organ (educational reform and labor reform are the two expressions of

special education), both possess the essential characteristics of education. Even though there are differences in principle between them, such differences do not affect the labor reform and educational reform conducted by the labor reform organ, and both possess the nature of cultivating, reforming, educating or remolding. Thus, the labor reform organ is not "a simple punitive organ, nor an ordinary enterprise or business unit exclusively engaged in production," but "a school to educate and reform the law violating criminals." The two basic means employed by it to reform the criminals both have an educational nature, not only not undermining the dictatorial functions of the organ, but also clarifying the line from the punitive and retaliatory functions of the bourgeois prison and clearly embodying the characteristics of the people's democratic dictatorship, namely, the historical mission and breadth of vision of reforming society and reforming man.

(3) Production. Not a mere physical depletion without economic meaning, the labor reform of the criminals is work to create social products under the guidance of state planning. While reforming the criminals, it creates a definite economic benefit; therefore, it possesses a productive nature. Integrating the social process of man's reform with the material productive activities within a specified category is an effective form and obvious feature of the punishment and reform of criminals by socialist countries. Productive labor is the most basic practical act of mankind and an indispensable educational factor in the socialization process of the young and adults. According to the Marxist viewpoint, the mental pattern of an individual (including moral character, ideological cultivation and world outlook) is formed in the course of his contact with others in a given social structure and in the material productive relations of a given form. The labor production of a socialist society both embodies the relation between man and nature and demonstrates the social relations among people. Thus, personal participation in the labor practice, plus correct guidance and education, will cultivate the ideological and moral qualities of loving labor and serving the laboring people, impart the collectivist spirit of labor division and responsibility and cooperation, and stimulate the sense of value of the fruits of labor. In terms of the majority of the criminals corroded by the exploiting class ideology, all these doubtlessly constitute an important makeup class. When participating in labor reform, they usually undergo a transition from being coerced to being conscious. This transition is the abandonment of the undesirable moral traits and the inception of the new ideological and moral qualities. The labor reform of a socialist country can neither simply imprison the criminals, sinking them into the "deep and dark isolation of the soul" and severing them from the ever seething social life, nor imagine that the method of regular classroom teaching will wipe out their criminal mentality. Only participation in the socialist collective labor production will most effectively reform their living pattern, turn the decadent into the miraculous and give new life to the criminals endangering society.

Naturally, labor reform will not automatically teach the criminals the correct ideology and the consciousness of the laboring people. Only when the labor reform organ consciously directs it to the track of education and reform and integrates it with ideological inculcation will it turn into an educational factor and be called labor reform. As profoundly stated by the famous Soviet

educator Makalianke /phonetic/, "under any situation, if it is not accompanied by education, labor will result in no educational benefit, but turn into a process producing no effect." "Only when labor is made into a part of the whole system will it have the potential of education." Correctly understanding this point has a definite significance in implementing the policy of "integrating punishment and surveillance with ideological reform, and labor production with political education" and "reform first and production second."

6080

CSO: 4005/186

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

MORE HANDICAPPED PEOPLE FIND EMPLOYMENT

OW080834 Beijing XINHUA in English 0725 GMT 8 Dec 84

[Text] Beijing, 8 Dec (XINHUA)--All handicapped people in China's cities and towns who can work will be employed in the next five years, a national conference was told here today.

Speaking at the Fourth National Congress of the Chinese Association for the Blind and Deaf-Mutes, Li Tai, vice-chairman of the association, said that, according to incomplete statistics, 70 percent of those people in the cities now have jobs; nearly half of them have been employed over the past five years, he said.

In the past about 50 percent of them have found work in projects run by neighborhood organizations, 30 percent in welfare factories run by the state and 20 percent in enterprises and other undertakings. Now those working in organizations where their parents are employed or running businesses on their own constitute a considerable percentage.

Among the problems of disabled citizens, Lin said, employment is one that they are most concerned with because it affects their status in the family and society.

The association has run various training courses for the blind and deaf-mutes to learn production skills. The courses teach woodworking, tailoring, painting, porcelain carving, massotherapy and the skill of fitting false teeth. Over the past five years, more than 100 massage courses have been run for some 1,400 blind people.

Lin said that his association would continue to help the government to create more opportunities for handicapped people who want to work. Enterprises and small towns should be encouraged to run welfare factories for the disabled. Part of the social welfare funds can be used as interest-free loans for those disabled people who want to run businesses of their own, he said.

He noted that massotherapy, which is a suitable profession for blind people, should be developed. A national conference will be held next year for the blind engaged in massage work. There are 460 massage units across the country, with 4,000 practitioners, all of whom are blind.

CSO: 4000/064

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC TO CONDUCT NATIONAL CENSUS OF HANDICAPPED

OW080830 Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 8 Dec 84

[Text] Beijing, 8 Dec (XINHUA)--Chinese government agencies will conduct a census of handicapped people nationwide, an official said here today at the Fourth National Congress of the Chinese Association for the Blind and Deaf-Mutes.

Lin Tai, vice-chairman of the association, said that the census would be conducted by the Ministry of Civil Affairs jointly with his association, the state statistical bureau and the China Welfare Fund for the Handicapped.

It is estimated that China has 20 million physically handicapped people, not including the blind and deaf-mutes. But some foreign experts say the true figure is probably higher than that.

In fact, Lin said, the government is not clear about the exact number of handicapped people, especially those in the rural areas, because no official count has ever been made.

Prior to the census, he said, experts would be organized to study the conditions of the handicapped and work out classifications for them in line with international standards.

The branches of his association all over the country will set up files with the case histories of all blind and deaf-mute people after the census, Lin said.

CSO: 4000/064

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

SHAKESPEARE'S 'OTHELLO' PREMIERS IN BEIJING

OW221724 Beijing XINHUA in English 1633 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Text] Beijing, 22 Dec (XINHUA)--Shakespeare's "Othello" was given its Beijing premier here this evening in a Chinese version by the visiting Guangdong drama theater.

The presentation of the famous tragedy is the first in modern drama form on the Chinese stage, apart from its production in a Beijing opera staged last year, since the founding of the People's Republic.

Other plays by Shakespeare such as "Hamlet," "Twelfth Night," "Much Ado About Nothing," "Macbeth," "The Merchant of Venice," and "Romeo and Juliet" have already been staged in China.

Zhou Ying and Liang Yong, directors of "Othello," with the help of a specialist in Shakespeare, Professor Sun Jaxiu of the Central Drama Institute in Beijing, have cut down the original four-hour performance of a two-hour work.

They said they tried to present the play with the theme that one must struggle against evil and hypocrisy while maintaining justice, loyalty and sincerity, as opposed to the conventional view of "Othello" as a "tragedy of jealousy."

Shakespeare is familiar to Chinese people. A translation of Charles Lamb's "Tales from Shakespeare" by the classicist Lin Shu in 1904 marked the introduction of Shakespeare into China. A production of "Hamlet" in traditional Sichuan opera form was presented in the early 1920's. "The Merchant of Venice" was the first formal Shakespearean performance in Shanghai in 1930, and a Shanghai amateur troupe put on "Romeo and Juliet" in 1937.

Zhu Shenghao, a high school teacher who devoted his life to the translation of Shakespeare, published a 27-play vernacular version of the bard's works in 1947. An anthology of Shakespearean criticism, the first comprehensive collection of translated essays of its kind, from Ben Jonson to Jan Kott, appeared in print in 1979.

Last October the Central Drama Institute founded a Shakespeare Research Center to engage in research, introduction, teaching, performance, translation and dubbing of his works. A national Shakespeare research society was established in Shanghai early this month, coinciding with the 420th anniversary of the birth of this great English poet and dramatist.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

TV FESTIVAL TO FEATURE BEST SHOWS OF 1984

OW131244 Beijing XINHUA in English 1158 GMT 13 Dec 84

[Text] Beijing, 13 Dec (XINHUA)--China's first television festival scheduled for next May will feature the best programs produced by its 80 TV stations during 1984.

The programs will include documentaries, literature and art, children's programs and educational TV. Three classes of 30 prizes will be awarded.

The festival, sponsored by China Central Television (CCTV), will promote exchange of programs among the different stations and feature an exhibition of television equipment.

Wang Feng, director of CCTV and head of the Preparatory Committee for the Festival, said representatives from the TV systems of Asia, Africa, Europe, and North and South America and Hong Kong will be invited to take part.

CCTV offers three services with a total of 131.5 hours of programs weekly, including a national service of general programs, a Beijing local service of general programs, and television university courses with an audience of 600,000.

Meanwhile, Wang said that CCTV will import more foreign TV programs such as Shakespeare's plays from the BBC.

CSO: 4000/064

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RESETTLEMENT OF RETURNING TIBETANS FACILITATED

OW240728 Beijing XINHUA in English 0647 GMT 24 Dec 84

[Text] Lhasa, 24 Dec (XINHUA)--Eighty-eight Tibetan families, more than 100 people, have returned to settle in the country this year, an official of the Tibet Autonomous Region announced here today.

This, the highest figure since 1979, brings the number of families returned to 220, the official said.

More young people have returned this year, as well as teachers, doctors, living Buddhas, lamas and businessmen from Japan, India, Switzerland, Canada and Nepal.

Local authorities have organized visits to historical sites, temples, schools, hospitals and factories as well as agricultural and pastoral areas and helped them settle in Tibet, Qinghai, Gansu and Sichuan as they wish.

All who can work now have jobs, and the disabled are cared for by the local governments.

"Religious figures have been found working in Buddhist associations or the Chinese people's political consultative conference at local levels," said the official.

Seventy-four-year-old nun Rinzin Zhouma, who returned with her disciple Wujin Zhouma, now works in Lhasa as a standing committee member of the city's Buddhist association.

Twenty-six-year-old Danzhen speaks good English. He returned last April to live in Tibet's Mainling County where he teaches English in the county middle school.

CSO; 4000/064

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HEBEI, HENAN, SHANDONG NATIONALITIES WORK FORUM HELD

SK280445 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 27 Dec 84

[Text] From 20 to 26 December, the State Nationalities Affairs Commission held a forum in Jinan on the nationalities work of Hebei, Henan and Shandong Provinces. The forum was presided over by Huang Guangxue, vice minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission. Attending the forum were responsible persons of nationalities affairs commissions of Hebei, Henan and Shandong Provinces, and leading comrades in charge of the nationalities work in Cangzhou Prefecture, and Shenqiu and Lingxian Counties. Liang Buting, secretary of the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee and governor of the province, received the forum's participants.

Having studied the new situations and problems arising in the areas inhabited by several minority nationalities under the new circumstances, the forum maintained; Hebei, Henan and Shandong Provinces have joint border areas, and are one of the important areas inhabited by Hui, Man, Monggol and Han nationalities. Paying attention to the nationalities work of the areas inhabited by several minority nationalities directly affects the frontier and minority nationalities areas, and will play an important role in strengthening the national unity, the unification of our country and the four modernizations drive.

During the forum, the participants visited Taian, Jinan and Yidu.

CSO: 4005/277

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

JIANGSU'S HAN PEIXIN ATTENDS URBAN SYMPOSIUM

OW270430 Nanjing JIANGSU Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 25 Dec 84

[Text] A symposium on Jiangsu Province's small cities and towns was held in Wuxi on 25 December. The symposium was sponsored by the Sociology Institute under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the China Society of Sociology, the Jiangsu Provincial Academy of Social Sciences, the provincial federation of societies of social sciences, and the provincial society for study of small cities and towns.

Those attending included Han Peixin, secretary of the provincial party committee, and Fei Xiaotong, a noted sociologist.

On the basis of the first such symposium held last September, in view of the developing situation, and in the light of investigations and studies made over the past year, this symposium was held to discuss theories on the construction of small cities and towns; to draw on the experiences of fraternal provinces and municipalities in this regard; and to probe into the orientation, ways, and principles for the building of small cities and towns in the province.

The symposium also discussed theoretical and practical questions concerning the relationship between urban and rural reforms and the building of small cities and towns, the circulation of commodities in small cities and towns, the characteristics of different types of small cities and towns in different areas, the building of an appropriate network of cities and towns, and the substitution of towns for villages. It particularly discussed questions on the reform of small cities and towns.

CSO: 4005/277

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

XINJIANG'S WANG ENMAO INTERVIEWED ON REGION'S PROGRESS

HK240300 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No 51, 17 Dec 84 pp 19-22

[Text] BEIJING REVIEW correspondent Lu Yun recently interviewed Wang Enmao, first secretary of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Party Committee, about relations between the different ethnic groups in Xinjiang. In the interview, Wang mapped out a blueprint for future development of the region--Editor.

Question: You have always stressed that national unity is of primary importance in Xinjiang. Why is that so?

Answer: National unity is not only of prime importance in Xinjiang but also in China as a whole.

Ours is a united multi-national country, with 55 minority ethnic groups. With the Hans, there are a total of 56 nationalities in China. Without the unity of all nationalities, it is impossible to achieve stability and unity in our political situation. And without such a stable political situation, it is impossible for us to proceed in the socialist modernization drive smoothly.

The large population of China is an advantage and an important factor in building socialism. The population of the Han nationality accounts for 93.3 percent of the country's total, and the economic and technical level of the Han areas is much more advanced than that of the economically and culturally backward minority areas. Although the combined population of China's various minority ethnic groups is only 67 million, or 6.7 percent of the country's total, the areas where the minority people live in compact communities make up 50 to 60 percent of the country's land total. In addition, these areas abound with natural resources. Combining the strengths of the Han people with those of the minority nationalities will help promote China's modernization drive.

Xinjiang is the home of many ethnic minorities. It covers more than 1.6 million square kilometres, accounting for one-sixth of the country's total area. The region is endowed with favourable natural conditions for developing farming and livestock breeding. So far more than 48 million mu (15 mu equal a hectare) of farmland has been reclaimed, and there is still another 100

million mu of arable land. The region also has 760 million mu of grassland.

Although the area is very dry, the three big mountain ranges--Tianshan, Altay and Kunlun--and the Pamir Plateau, which are all perennially covered with snow, provide it with 110,000 million cubic metres of melted snow water and other water resources. There are 460 rivers, including 13 big ones, flowing across the region.

Xinjiang also has abundant mineral resources. Oil deposits have been discovered in all three of its main basins: Junggar, Turpan and Tarim. Its prospective coal reserves rank first in China. In addition, it has numerous non-ferrous and rare metal deposits. Before the Soviet Union found its own rare metal deposits for developing atom bombs, it relied on the supply from Xinjiang. Xinjiang's rich mineral deposits also include gold, silver, copper, nickel, manganese, lead, antimony, crystal, Iceland spar and jade.

Experts from many other countries agree that northwestern and southwestern China are the most promising regions of China in many respects. These areas are all minority areas. Our government has decided to gradually shift the focus of our country's economic construction to the northwest and the southwest. This will help boost the economic and cultural development of these areas.

Before liberation most of China's [words indistinct] suffered two-fold exploitation and oppression by both the reactionary ruling classes and other nationalities. After liberation, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the minority people eliminated the system of exploitation and oppression, and equality and unity of all nationalities has been achieved in China. This, in turn, helped change the backward outlook of the minority areas, and the economy and culture in these areas have prospered.

Question: How is the solidarity of all nationalities manifested in Xinjiang, where the combined population of the minority nationalities outnumbers the Han population?

Answer: The Chinese Communist Party's correct policy towards nationalities is the source of its power to unite all the nationalities in Xinjiang, as it represents the fundamental interests of all ethnic groups.

The most important and the most basic part of our policy towards nationalities is the one on practising regional autonomy by minority nationalities. The Second Session of the Sixth National People's Congress held last May adopted the Law on the Regional Autonomy of Minority Nationalities. Before this, there was a series of concrete policies. The policies call for democratic reform and the socialist transformation in the ownership in the minority areas. Party building, training of minority cadres, respect for the customs and habits of the minority nationalities and freedom of religion. Policy also stipulates that Han cadres working in the minority areas must learn the local people's spoken and written languages.

[Words indistinct] people realized that none of the nationalities in China could win liberation independently. This could only be achieved by uniting and fighting together with all the other nationalities under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Following liberation, all the nationalities proceeded to seek common progress and to change the backward economy and culture caused by historic reasons.

After the liberation of Xinjiang, the party's national policy was carried out in the region by establishing regional autonomy. This brought tremendous change to the region. Democratic reform and socialist transformation in the ownership eliminated the system of exploitation and oppression and brought about equality for all nationalities.

The state has rendered Xinjiang great help in its economic construction. Over the past more than 30 years, the state has provided subsidies of 13,400 million yuan, of which 12,600 million yuan was used on capital construction. At the time of liberation, Urumqi, now the capital of the autonomous region, had only one power plant with an outdated 300-kilowatt generator. At that time the region did not have an inch of railway or paved road. It had not one modern weaving machine, nor could it produce a single piece of iron or steel or any kind of machine. Today the region boasts more than 4,000 industrial enterprises, which produce more than 2,000 kinds of products. There are more than 20,000 kilometres of highway in the region, and progress has been made in rail and air services. The changes have transformed Xinjiang into a hub of communications and transportation leading to the Middle East and Europe.

In the past the region had very few primary and secondary schools and only one college. Today Xinjiang has 160,000 college graduates and 30,000 students studying in various institutions of higher learning. All this could not have been achieved without support from the state.

For its part, Xinjiang has made great contributions to the country's socialist construction. Over the past three decades, Xinjiang has supplied other parts of China with large amounts of petroleum, coal, cloth, cotton and other raw materials.

The people of all the ethnic groups in Xinjiang understand that it is the party's correct policies towards nationalities that have helped improve their lives and stimulated the economic and cultural undertakings in the region.

Question: Why did China adopt regional autonomy in the minority areas to solve its national problems?

Answer: The decision to practice regional national autonomy and not a federal system was based on China's actual conditions. The policy is a product of integrating Marxist theory on the resolution of national problems with China's concrete conditions.

In the early days of liberation, some people suggested we copy the Soviet method of establishing a union of republics in China. But our circumstances are different from those of the Soviet Union, which became a union of republics only after the October Revolution with the gradual merging of 14 republics

with Russia. China has been a united state since ancient times. How could it go backwards to a federal system to establish a union of republics?

Progress and improvement in living conditions over the past 30 years since the founding of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region have proved that this policy is correct. The Law on the Regional Autonomy of Minority Nationalities legally recognized our practices and experiences.

Question: After you went back to Xinjiang you successfully handled the Kashi incident in 1981. What lessons did you learn that might be applied elsewhere?

Answer: In mid-October 1981 the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee held a meeting in Beijing on the question of Xinjiang and formulated a plan for the development of Xinjiang. At the same time, the Party Central Committee decided to transfer me back to Xinjiang from Jilin.

The Kashi incident occurred on 30 October. A Han youth named Ye Xin had a quarrel with a Uygur youth named Abudukader and killed him while they were digging a water diversion canal. The authorities concerned did not handle the case promptly and some people took advantage of it to whip up resentment among the Uygurs against the Hans. They encouraged some Uygur people to carry the youth's body in a protest march. In the ensuing turmoil, many Han people were wounded and one was killed.

The correct handling of the Kashi incident may be considered a turning point in minority relations in Xinjiang. Because of "left" mistakes during the "cultural revolution," relations between different nationalities in Xinjiang had been rather tense. The situation had remained unstable, and unpleasant incidents had occurred from time to time. The Kashi incident was dealt with according to the Party Central Committee's instructions and the party's policies towards nationalities. We weighed our experiences and lessons and educated our cadres. The successful handling of the case provided an example for the resolution of national relations. Since then unity between the various nationalities in Xinjiang has steadily improved.

The lesson we learnt concerns the treatment received by the minority and the Han people involved in such an incident. Should we treat them differently or the same? We treated them the same, punishing the murderers, both Han and Uygur, according to the law of our government.

The Chinese Communist Party believes in trusting the broad masses of people and relying on and uniting with people of all nationalities. We know there are bad and counter-revolutionary elements. But they are only a tiny few in number. After the incident occurred, some people claimed that it had been stirred up by an anti-Han force among the minority nationalities. I couldn't agree with this opinion. There are some people who are against the Hans, but they are only a handful. Most minority people get along well with the Hans. Judging from my own experience in Xinjiang since 1949, I don't believe that there are many people who are against the Hans. In 1949, when the People's Liberation Army entered Xinjiang, the people of all nationalities there regarded the Hans as

their saviours. The PLA and the people's government emancipated the minority people from severe class and national exploitation and oppression, thus bringing the relations even closer. As the means of production was transformed to socialist ownership, living standards improved, and the local people stood firm in support of the Communist Party. Over the past three decades the Han people have established close friendship with the people of all nationalities in Xinjiang. During the Kashi incident some people did attack the Hans, but they were only a few in number. Most of the minority people stood up to protect the Hans.

Given this, we didn't resort to suppression or military involvement. Instead, we used political means to solve the case. To send troops might have temporarily squashed the turmoil, but it would have eventually widened the differences and planted a seed of disunity between the different nationalities.

Our successful resolution of the incident won the support of the people of all nationalities in Kashi and Xinjiang as a whole. Since then the autonomous region's party committee has strengthened its work in promoting national unity. It has held meetings to commend those making contributions to national unity and called a party congress to sum up experiences in strengthening national unity. Efforts have also been made to educate people about national unity, including Marxist theory on nationalities and our party's national policies. We have encouraged the people of all nationalities to trust, respect and support one another and learn from each other. Now, an atmosphere of unity prevails the region.

Question: The Party Central Committee has decided to turn Xinjiang and all of the northwest into an important base of development for a powerful socialist China. What kind of preparatory work will Xinjiang do to meet this challenge?

Answer: Last year Comrades Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang made separate inspection tours of Xinjiang. On behalf of the Party Central Committee, they outlined a strategic plan for China's socialist economic development that includes turning Xinjiang and the northwest into an important base for economic construction in the next century. This decision greatly encouraged the people of all nationalities in Xinjiang and heightened their confidence in the success of the modernization drive. Before this we planned to quadruple Xinjiang's annual gross industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century as compared with that of 1980. Now we have decided to increase it five-fold. We are sure that this target will be achieved, because, in addition to our own efforts, the government will render Xinjiang greater help--financially, technically and intellectually--to fulfill the strategic goal.

During the current party consolidation movement we put forward three propositions for the development of Xinjiang. First, we want to increase the region's annual gross industrial and agricultural output value five-fold by the year 2000. Second, we hope to bring Xinjiang's economic and cultural level up to the nation's average or above-average level by the end of this century. And third, we plan to complete the preparatory work for the future large-scale development of Xinjiang.

For the preparatory work we will devote our efforts to the following eight aspects: 1) drawing up a plan for overall development; 2) stepping up the pace for verifying geological resources; 3) building water conservation projects on a large scale; 4) energetically developing transport and communications; 5) expediting energy construction; 6) expanding the building materials industry; 7) strengthening intellectual development and training more competent people; and 8) ensuring the necessary key projects that we have the ability to start now.

The fulfillment of the work in the above-mentioned eight fields will provide the base for the development of the region's [words indistinct] into a grain, cotton, sugar beet and fruit production [words indistinct] and a centre of the petroleum, coal, non-ferrous and rare metals, chemical, light and foodstuffs industries. I am confident that there are broad prospects for the development of Xinjiang.

CSO: 4000/064

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

URBAN CULTURAL WORK MEETING HELD IN TIANJIN

OW262357 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1557 GMT 24 Dec 84

[By reporter Zhang Shuying]

[Excerpt] Tianjin, 24 Dec (XINHUA)--How can urban mass cultural work more effectively serve the four modernizations construction in the light of the new situation brought about by the economic structural reform? Zhu Muzhi and Ding Qiao, respectively minister and vice minister of culture, and more than 200 government cultural workers from 29 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, and some big, medium, and small cities in the country gathered in Tianjin from 18 to 24 December to discuss the question.

There was no opening ceremony, nor were there any lengthy reports read out at the meeting. Zhu Muzhi's written report was distributed to the representatives during the first day of the meeting to solicit their opinions. Based on their opinions and questions, Zhu Muzhi spoke on 22 December.

He said: "In recent years, with the rapid development of the country's economic construction, particularly with the reform of the economic structure, the masses of people have experienced great changes in their economy, life style, and spiritual life. To cope with the situation, urban mass cultural work must promote a civilized, healthy, and scientific way of life. We have the responsibility to help the masses make good arrangements for their cultural life after 8 hours of work."

Why was the country's mass cultural work in the doldrums of the past? Zhu Muzhi held that it was because of the "leftist" influence that opposed recreation. He said: It is necessary to emancipate the people's mind, continue to eliminate the "leftist" influence, and advocate the idea of combining education with recreation.

Vice Minister of Culture Ding Qiao presided over the meeting.

Wang Huide, deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee; Liu Shi, secretary of the Secretariat of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions; and Li Yuanchao, secretary of the Secretariat of the CYL Central Committee, spoke at the meeting. Also attending the meeting were mass cultural workers from departments concerned under the party Central

Committee, the State Council, the PLA General Political Department, as well as some local trade union and CYL organizations. Vice mayors from 14 cities, including Beijing, Tianjin, Chongqing, Wuhan, Daqing, Yingkou, and Yinchuan, were specially invited to attend the meeting, and some of them spoke on how to develop mass cultural work.

CSO: 4005/277

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LEGAL PROBLEMS CONCERNING ECONOMIC LAWSUITS

Shanghai ZHENGZHI YU FALU [POLITICS AND LAW] in Chinese No 4,
5 Aug 84 pp 9-13

[Article by Gu Peidong [7357 1014 2639]: "Some Legal Problems in Economic Litigation"]

[Text] In recent years, following the increasingly widespread adjudication of economic cases, economic litigation is gradually evolving as an independent field of jurisprudence. The emergence of economic litigation has changed the traditional pattern of the legal system and has widened one step further the boundaries of litigation. It also brought with it many theoretical problems concerning litigation which are urgently awaiting solution. Specialists in the field of theories of legal procedures are now faced with the important task of studying and exploring certain legal problems in economic litigation, basing on the special characteristics of economic cases and standing firmly on the foundation of actual practices in economic litigation.

I. The Question of the Independent Nature of Economic Litigation

Our country's economic litigation, differentiating itself from criminal procedure and civil litigation, has established itself as an independent form of litigation. However, in actual fact, this independence of economic litigation is still extremely limited. Some writers on economic law consider economic litigation as having both the character of civil as well as criminal court proceedings, or as having merely the character of civil lawsuits. Judicial procedure in economic cases is at present also using the (tentative) Code of Civil Procedure as its norms of court procedure. In our opinion it is now quite worthwhile to direct our studies to the theoretical concepts concerning economic litigation and to the practices that are presently being followed. Looking at the demands on economic litigation raised by our economic development, we should indeed emphasize the independence of economic litigation. We should, moreover, not only create an independent

judicial organ, but, more importantly, draw up an independent code of procedure for economic court proceedings and set up economic procedure as a branch of study in our jurisprudence.

The history of legal institutions indicates that it is always the development of the sector of substantive law that leads to a corresponding separate establishment of procedural laws. Historically, when criminal and civil law were each established as independent sectors of the law, they were followed by the corresponding laws of criminal and civil procedures. At present, the development of administrative law in certain countries brought about the formation of an independent procedure for administrative litigation. Marx has already very thoroughly revealed the inherent grounds for these laws of change in the relation between substantive and procedural law, when he pointed out: "The connection between judicial procedure and law is very close, much as the connection between the external form of a plant and the plant itself or the external form of an animal and its flesh and blood. Judicial procedure and the law are bound to have the same spirit because the judicial procedure is merely the live form of the law and is therefore also the manifestation of the inner life of the law." ("The Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1, p 178) Obviously, the emergence and development of economic law is therefore also bound to demand the creation of an independent economic procedural law. In the Soviet Union and certain East European countries, where economic law has been developed earlier than in China, the question of drawing up economic procedure laws has already been placed on the agenda and certain legal provisions of a tentative nature have already been formulated. Although theoretical circles in our country are presently still debating economic law as an object of revision and whether economic law can form an independent legal sector, it is undeniable that a large volume of economic law has already been created, different in content from traditional civil law and other sectors of the law and also showing in itself certain special characteristics. It is, furthermore, already occupying an important place in the socialist legal system of our country. Only by drawing up a code of economic procedure with unique Chinese characteristics will we therefore be able to ensure a concrete implementation of our economic laws and an accurate and prompt solution of the various kinds of economic disputes.

Setting up an independent economic procedure law will not only evolve in a general way from the relationship between procedural law and substantive law, but will also be a demand raised by the practice of court proceedings in economic cases. The large number of problems that have arisen in the few years since economic court proceedings started up fully justify

our questioning the appropriateness of applying civil procedure in economic proceedings. First of all, the objects in economic litigation are large, and the interests involved are of considerable extent. Many cases relate directly to large items of property belonging to the state or the collectives. Since economic cases have a direct bearing on major interests of the state and the collectives, the law court or other judicial organ, out of the basic consideration of protecting the state or collective interests as a whole, cannot but demand to be given broader powers of intervention to restrict with these powers the dispositions of the parties. It is therefore necessary to set up a specific system dealing with the filing of lawsuits, promissory acceptances, waivers, amicable settlements, withdrawal of suits, etc., and it will not do to simply follow the legal provisions for civil procedure. Second, economic lawsuits are concerned with different kinds of economic disputes arising from the entire range of activities wherever society is engaged in transforming nature. Not only are illegal acts that compose some of these disputes mixed up in production and business activities in such fields as mechanical engineering, medicine, pharmacology and public health, forestry and mining, power generation, chemistry, road and bridge building, banking and tax revenue, communications and transportation, finance and accounting, but it also frequently happens that it requires the assistance of the special technologies and services of these areas to bring these activities to light, find out about them and to finally resolve the disputes. This work requires accurate legal and policy awareness, and, more importantly, a scientific knowledge and judgement, helped by knowledge in various specialized fields, to impart the necessary knowledge and competence of judgement as to the causes, the circumstances and the consequences of the dispute. Economic disputes and their adjudication are therefore more complex than the general kind of civil lawsuits. It is precisely because of this complexity that special provisions have to be drawn up, different from civil procedure, covering the power and methods of economic adjudication. Third, as the result of the extensive spread of economic contacts, economic activities frequently breach the borders of regions, trades or even the country. One economic activity may frequently have a number of interrelated major parts. In this way, an extremely wide area is bound to be involved in the economic disputes that arise from economic activities, and this causes all kinds of difficulties when civil lawsuit procedures are applied in economic court proceedings. As to jurisdiction, the fact that the same economic dispute may cover a number of regions and involve several parties, may have one dispute frequently fall under several different jurisdictions. The current code of civil procedure does not provide in its common procedures for a system of

jurisdiction by agreement. The designated jurisdiction is also merely established on the basis of a small scope of involvement and for lower ranks of courts so designated. This obviously will not meet the demands of litigation in economic cases. For economic litigation it will be necessary not only to establish a system of jurisdiction by agreement, but also a method of determining court competences. As to time limits in court proceedings, considering the fact that the parties and witnesses are spread over a wide area and that the decision-making process takes longer for a juridic person than for a natural person, the time limits prescribed in the code of civil procedure for the delivery of documents, for defense arguments and appeals must be appropriately relaxed or extended. As to the litigation system, it occurs frequently that the main substance of economic cases is not only of one kind, but that several claims and disputes are interlocked in one case. These claims and disputes are, furthermore, not suitable to be combined in the sense of claims in civil litigations. However, in view of the need for prompt and complete solution of the disputes in economic lawsuits, they should be combined for adjudication in one proceeding. This too will require reconsidering the system in economic litigation, and will not permit us to follow rigidly the provisions for civil procedure. Fourth, economic disputes are of composite nature, with one case frequently involving ordinary disputes as well as disputes involving foreign parties or interests, involving property disputes as well as economic crimes. According to the provisions of the current civil procedure law, cases involving foreign parties or interests must be dealt with according to the special procedure for such cases, and it is also not permitted to attach criminal proceedings to a civil litigation. That means that in some cases it is necessary to apply several different judicial procedures, with the inevitable consequences that: (1) Cases become long-drawn-out affairs, wasting much time and money. (2) Certain measures of enforcement cannot be promptly executed. If the criminal procedure is adopted first, there is no way to carry out advance payments and security deposits according to civil procedure. If the civil procedure is adopted first, it is not possible to effect arrests, detention or similar coercive measures. (3) A method of shifting between procedures; to affirm the validity of facts established in the earlier procedure and for a series of other questions, there has to be a procedural law that fixes procedures. Otherwise, there will be no rules to follow in court proceedings. Apart from the above-stated various aspects, will it be permissible in economic cases to issue an arrest warrant to representatives of juridic persons if they fail twice to obey summons, or to entrust investigations to other organs when evidence is spread over a wide area? When executing a judgement against the property of a juridic

person, are we limited to property other than production tools according to article 172 of the code of civil procedure? These and other questions have to be thoroughly analyzed; it is not possible to simply follow the provisions of the civil procedure law. These questions indicate that court proceedings in economic cases are in need of a procedural law that is consistent with the special characteristics of these cases. We must include the compilation of a code of economic judicial procedure in our overall plan for our country's economic legislation.

II. The Question of Division of Labor and Coordination Between Economic Adjudication and Other Relevant Methods

The complexity of economic disputes and the profusion of economic cases determined the methods of resolving economic disputes and of handling economic cases, and also resulted in having a multiplicity of organizations carrying out these methods, while each method must have its particular sphere of application. This touches on the question of dividing the spheres of application of economic adjudication and of the other methods and of coordinating the various methods. Based on the fundamental demand for feasible, effective, prompt and accurate handling of all kinds of economic cases, we believe the division of the spheres of application for economic adjudication and other relevant methods will seemingly have to be determined according to the following points: (1) the nature of the dispute; (2) the functions of the organization in question; (3) the degree of complexity of the case and the amount of property involved; (4) the legal capacity and policy consciousness of the various organizations and their actual work load; (5) the conditions existing for performance of the task. In the following, we shall explore the division of labor and coordination in more concrete terms.

Economic and criminal judicial procedures. No connection develops between economic and criminal proceedings in the general type of property disputes. It is only when the case in question is of an economic nature but also involves criminal sanctions that there is some overlapping and also the need to delineate spheres of application. In the judicial practice, the entire field of economic crimes was at one time completely allotted to economic adjudication. Now, economic cases that involve criminal sanctions are again completely ejected from the sphere of economic adjudication. The scientific concept of both these two measures should be subjected to some study. Economic adjudication cannot take on all cases of economic criminality only because they have economic content. This is so because corruption, theft and other such economic crimes, although containing economic elements, are,

as far as judicial procedure is concerned, not handled differently from other criminal cases. Criminal judicial procedure is completely applicable here. Besides, these cases inappropriately expanded the sphere of cases the economic judicial organs had to accept and excessively increased the pressure on these organs, thereby hindering them in fulfilling their main functions. Second, the present method of completely ejecting all cases that involve criminal sanctions from the sphere of economic jurisdiction is also questionable. For one reason, splitting criminal sanctions and the economic dispute into two stages, using two different procedures and having the case handled separately by two different judicial organizations is detrimental to a quick conclusion and a prompt disposition of the cases and also detrimental to an overall control of all the circumstances of the cases by the judicial personnel. These drawbacks would be eliminated by applying a procedure of a comprehensive nature and letting one law court carry out the task right down to the bottom. For another reason, a method of having the civil litigation attached to the criminal proceedings in the handling of such cases can also not be regarded as a feasible method. According to the provisions of article 53 of the code of criminal procedure, the attachment of civil litigation is allowed only with regard to damage done to the injured party by the criminal act. In such cases the criminal and the civil sanctions are enforced against the same party. However, in economic cases, the target of the criminal sanctions is not always the same as the target of the economic sanction. Frequently the criminal sanction is directed against a person and the economic sanction against a collective. We suggest that three categories of cases involving criminal sanctions be all allotted to economic jurisdiction: (1) Crimes committed by responsible personnel of juridic persons in illegal economic activities, such as the crime of a responsible personnel directing smuggling when smuggling is carried out by a collective. (2) Crimes committed in the course of economic transactions on behalf of a juridic person, using the powers of office for personal gain and directly or indirectly inflicting large losses on the state or the collective, as, for instance, accepting bribes which result in large losses to the state. (3) Cases of dereliction of duties or malfeasance which result in large property losses or economic disputes, as, for instance, dispatchers making false entries in the dispatch notes, thereby causing large losses to the units either dispatching or receiving the goods. The common characteristic of all these cases is that the court proceedings must establish criminal responsibility of the responsible personnel and also settle the property dispute that is connected with the criminal act. These two factors are, furthermore, mutually conditioning one another in the court proceedings. In other words,

only by finding out about the economic controversy and the extent of the property losses, will it be possible to establish the direct or indirect consequences of the criminal act of the personnel responsible. Similarly, only by finding out the damage caused by the criminal, will it be possible to establish clearly the concrete substance of the economic controversy and of the property losses.

Economic court proceedings and civil court proceedings. The theoretical argument as to what the respective regulatory targets of economic law and of civil law are must not affect the division in actual practice of the two spheres of economic jurisdiction and civil jurisdiction. However, just because there still is this ambiguity in theory, there is a certain difficulty to make this division of spheres in actual practice. Generally, the cases that are dealt with in economic proceedings and in civil proceedings are disputes over property, and the methods of sanctions in both systems are forcing the lawbreaker to assume a certain kind of economic responsibility. However, we must not lump these two kinds of lawsuits together, though they are similar in outward appearance, since they are different in substance. We must also not regard economic lawsuits as splinters or complements of civil lawsuits. At this time when the borderline between economic law and civil law has not yet been clarified, we believe that we should draw up a joint outline as a dividing line between the two kinds of lawsuits, according to the actual judicial practice of the last few years and considering the principal substance and the causes of the disputes. Basing on the principal substance means that property disputes between citizens shall all be handled in civil court proceedings and property disputes between citizens and juridic persons or between several juridic persons shall be handled in economic court proceedings. Basing on the causes of the dispute means that the various kinds of economic disputes arising in production, management or in the process of consumption circulation that is not domestic consumption shall all be handled in economic court proceedings and all disputes arising from circulation processes in domestic consumption shall belong to the jurisdiction of the civil courts. In this connection, it must be observed: first, that the economic proceedings must reflect the reality of the economic reform, acknowledge the legal position of individual business operators and specialized households, and that we must not regard the disputes that arise between them and juridic persons or government organs in their business operations or production processes as common civil lawsuits and relegate them to the civil courts, because these cases comprise many technological and professional questions that require rather complex processes of assessment and investigation. Since the handling of such cases requires not

only decisions on property responsibilities, but frequently also involve such relevant questions as industrial and commercial management, taxation and loans, it would seem more appropriate for the economic tribunals to handle these cases. Second, cases under the jurisdiction of the economic courts must be appropriate for adjudication by the economic courts, and one must not assign every economic dispute between juridic persons in toto to the economic courts. Juridic persons are also subjects to whom the civil code and the code of civil procedure apply. A considerable portion of the economic disputes arising among juridic persons are common civil disputes, some are even contractual disputes arising in the field of nonproductive consumption circulation. Property disputes among juridic persons that arise from civil circulation must still be handled by civil courts; economic tribunals must not exceed their functions and take on affairs of others. Following the gradual theoretical clarification of the regulatory spheres of the two substantive laws, conflicts and overlapping in the two jurisdictions will also gradually diminish and, moreover, in future in a harmonious and unified manner become the basic means of resolving all kinds of disputes that have economic content.

Economic jurisdiction and arbitration. Arbitration, which is one of the basic methods of resolving economic disputes, is in many respects connected with economic adjudication. These connections are: (1) Choice between arbitration and lawsuit. That means, the parties are free to choose whether they want to settle the economic dispute by arbitration or by the decision of a court of law. The method of allowing the parties to choose between arbitration and lawsuit is the fundamental method now being adopted in China. A provision to that effect is contained in article 48 of the Economic Contract Law. It is only that among the two alternatives, arbitration always requires consensus of the two parties, while a lawsuit is not dependent on the will of the other party. (2) Arbitration followed by lawsuit. This alternative is an inevitable derivative of the method of choice between arbitration and lawsuit. Since the parties are free to use whatever alternative they want under the system of free choice between arbitration and lawsuit, we must allow the party that refuses to accept the arbitration award to turn to court proceedings. The Economic Contract Law stipulates that a party not satisfied with the arbitration award may file suit in court within a certain time limit and request the protection of the judiciary. This, then, is arbitration followed by lawsuit; it reflects the principle of having the judiciary as the final instance for the solution of disputes. (3) Either arbitration or lawsuit. Certain legal provisions prescribe that for certain cases, mainly economic and

commercial cases involving foreign persons or interests and for maritime cases, only one method, either arbitration or law court proceedings, are allowed for the settlement of disputes, so that after having made a choice, the parties can no more switch to the other alternative. These provisions apply therefore only to disputes of this special category, to prevent procrastinations and repetitious action. Besides, this method is also in line with international practice. (4) Arbitration to the exclusion of court proceedings. This method has so far no basis in Chinese law, but cases of this nature have occurred and will also occur in future. This is so because the illegal actions of some cases mainly involve administrative actions that do not lend themselves to decisions by the judicial organs. Moreover, the norms for acceptance of cases by the economic tribunals of the people's courts can only be fixed for disputes of up to a certain value of property. All other disputes can only be handled by assigning them to arbitration or mediation organizations. The above-stated connections between arbitration and economic adjudication are nothing else but the concrete manifestation of a division of labor between the two systems.

Economic jurisdiction and out-of-court mediation. The main manifestation of a harmonious coordination of economic jurisdiction and out-of-court mediation are: mediation is a noncompulsory procedure prior to economic court proceedings. Many economic disputes are often preceded by mediation, and only after mediation fails, a lawsuit is filed and economic court proceedings are started. The question is to be explored whether a certain sphere can be delineated for mediation and whether a certain effect is to be bestowed on mediation. It is our opinion that, considering the trend of ever increasing, never diminishing, economic disputes and the actual capability of China's mediation organizations, we may determine that certain disputes can only be resolved through mediation or arbitration organizations. Proceeding in this manner will be helpful for a reduction of the pressure on the economic tribunals and would bring the functions of the mediation organizations in the resolving of economic disputes fully into play. As to the specific methods of delineating such cases, we may consider to take a certain value of the object of the dispute as criterion and thus determine the scope within which cases have to be accepted by the economic tribunals or to be referred to out-of-court mediation. At the same time, we must preserve the right of the people's courts to handle disputes that concern small objects but have a large impact, or that are rather complex. Of course, we can consider this type of delineation only if we further improve and perfect our mediation organization on the foundation that is already available. To sum up, we must avoid closing all doors to

those who seek judicial help and would have no other place to resolve their disputes, but must also avoid that everybody rushed to start lawsuits without regard for the importance of the affair involved. If we proceed in this manner, the resolution of economic disputes will have created two methods in the vertical dimension, namely prior mediation or arbitration before filing suit, and will also have created three routes, in the horizontal dimension, namely mediation, arbitration and adjudication.

III. Judicial Intervention and Other Competence Questions in Economic Litigation

In economic litigation we must raise the ability for judicial interventions, expand the judicial competence for interventions, and, apart from restricting certain dispositions by the parties during the process of the litigation, must also have the participation of the procuratorate in the proceedings, establish a system of public initiative in economic litigation and a system of judicial proposals to be made by the judicial organs to the administrative organs.

Although China's civil procedure law stipulates that the procuratorate has the right to supervise civil litigation, due to the fact that the procedure and effects of supervision have never been specifically formulated, this system was in practice never really implemented. If we thus say that the question of procuratorial participation in civil litigation has never become acute so far, in economic proceedings there is no way that the procurator can shirk this responsibility. He must not only thoroughly supervise the procedure of the proceedings, but must also, in cases where important interests of the state, the collectives or individual citizens are concerned, initiate prosecution in his capacity of state prosecutor. There are at least the following four points in favor of a participation of the procuratorial organs in economic litigation: (1) Because of the fact that certain malpractices in the economic system could not yet be fully eliminated, and cannot be eliminated for quite some time in future, and because the material benefits of enterprises have not yet been defined with absolute clarity, many juridical persons and organizations, on the occurrence of large losses to the interests of the state or collective, are slow in reporting these occurrences and will not on their own initiative institute legal action, so that there is indeed a need for the people's procuratorate to initiate prosecution. (2) Criminal acts of an economic nature by juridic persons are often concealed in their production and business processes and rather difficult to detect. The procuratorate can exercise its right of investigation, promptly find out the

facts and prosecute. (3) In disputes arising in the vertical economic relationships or in disputes between juridic persons that have cooperative or supply relationships, the injured party is often afraid to offend someone in higher position or to bring relations to a standstill, resulting in even more dire consequences, and will for these reasons not dare to rashly start a lawsuit. As the public prosecutor starts proceedings, he will not only protect the legitimate rights of the injured party, but will also avoid thereby that the conflict between the parties will be aggravated. (4) By starting proceedings, the procuratorate will facilitate imposing sanctions against the perpetrator of any crime involved in the economic dispute, will reduce the need for procedural transfers of cases and will ensure that both the criminal as well as the economic questions will be settled in one procedure, thus creating a unity of criminal and economic sanctions. The above-stated facts make it clear that only by affirming the position of the state prosecutor in economic litigation and by establishing a specific procedure for the participation of the procuratorate in economic litigation, can we achieve a more intensive protection of the major interests of the state, the collective and of individuals and can we more effectively impose sanctions for all illegal and criminal activities. As to the present concrete conditions of the procuratorial organs, all conditions are indeed to a certain degree extant to allow their participation in economic litigation. For instance, the procuratorial offices all over the country have basically all established special organizations to deal with economic investigations and have, furthermore, accumulated a considerable amount of experiences in actual practice. Participation of the procuratorate in economic litigation and strengthening judicial intervention is, therefore, no more a thing of pure imagination.

An unlawful economic act is a kind of unlawful act of a composite nature; the object that is infringed upon in one illegal act is frequently not only the property of the state, the collective or of one individual citizen. The sanctions effected in economic lawsuits, whether they consist of the confiscation of property or the order to make restitution, are all only judicial sanctions. To have the sanction conform to the criminal act, it is still necessary that the judicial sanction be supplemented by other measures such as administrative or disciplinary sanctions. The conclusion of the economic court proceedings does not signify at all the final conclusion of the case. In order to expand the limits of the rights of intervention, it is furthermore necessary to establish a system of judicial proposals and to extend the right of intervention of the judicial organs to the imposition of nonjudicial sanctions against illegal acts. There are

certain theoretical and practical foundations for the establishment of a system of judicial proposals. Ours is a socialist country which does not adopt the bourgeois political pattern of the separation of the three powers. The independence of the judiciary in relation to the executive branch is only significant on the premise of what benefits the state as a whole. Since economic adjudication cannot divorce itself from the cooperation of the administrative organs, the administrative organs must also act in accordance with the proposals of the judicial organs when dealing with economic violations. Starting out from what are effective and appropriate demands, we propose that the system of judicial proposals must comprise the following: (1) The administrative sanctions and whatever kind of sanctions that are to be imposed on juridic or natural persons by the administrative organs. (2) The administrative organs to give consideration to the proposals of the judicial organs. In case of disagreement, they may request a review of the proposal or submit its opinion to the higher ranking judicial organ. (3) The administrative organ must report the circumstances of its adopting the judicial proposals to the organ that has submitted the proposal. The economic tribunal of the intermediate people's court of Chongqing Municipality has for several years launched judicial proposal activities, which were not only welcomed and supported by the administrative organs, but also positively evaluated by the relevant leading departments. In legal respects, the establishment of this type of system--a judicial proposal procedure to be established in economic litigation--will add to the special traits of the economic litigation procedure in China.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LEARNING FROM HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE IN LITERATURE URGED

Lanzhou DANGDAI WENYI SICHAO [CONTEMPORARY TREND OF THOUGHT IN LITERATURE AND ART] in Chinese No 5, Sep 84 pp 19-21

[Article by Tang Dacheng [0781 6671 2052]: "Draw Lessons From Historical Experience"]

[Text] On the occasion of the enthusiastic celebration of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, we look back on the development of socialist literature and feel tremendous excitement and inspiration toward a future filled with incomparable confidence. Yet, at the same time, we have a strong sense of how heavy the burden and how long the road. As for the major tasks in literature during this completely new historical period, we cannot slacken in the least, but must redouble our spirit and make unremitting efforts.

Over the last 35 years, the development of our literature has truly not had smooth sailing. It has gone through quite a few hardships and complications, yet the revolutionary ranks of our literature carried on the literary tradition of the "May 4th" movement and held high the torch of revolutionary literature that was lit at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art of 1922, pressing forward with an indomitable will, without retreating or wavering in the face of the rigorous tests of history. Now we can proudly say that our ranks faced the arduous struggle and withstood the trials, and through their own wisdom, diligence and tenacity established a socialist literature with epoch-making significance, closely linked with the great goals of building socialism and serving the working people in the hundreds of millions.

This completely new literature, with its profound historical content, abundant fervor of the time, clear revolutionary optimism and colorful and graceful artistic style reflected the extremely lively, rich and complex struggle of the people in the hundreds of millions to establish socialism, under the leadership of the party. Many works not only formed vivid testimony of heroic revolutionaries and diligent workers consciously creating history, but through their powerful artistic effect, they aroused and encouraged the masses of the people to move toward a new life. This is a creation and contribution of a great nation of the east with a population of one billion in an important period of world historical development. The outstanding achievements it has made not only are increasingly the focus of attention in the modern world, but also, without a doubt, occupy a historical position that cannot be underestimated.

Over the last 35 years, we have accomplished a great and glorious feat, while experiencing serious setbacks and difficulties. Nevertheless, every experience was a lesson, which gave us profound enlightenments, both positive and negative. In particular, there was the historically significant Third Plenum of the 11th party Central Committee, convened by the party, which vigorously urged a movement to emancipate thinking in the literary and artistic world. The literary and artistic world set itself to rights and emancipated its thinking, thoroughly eliminating and smashing the heavy spiritual shackles imposed by the "gang of four" on socialist literature and it summarized the harmful influence of the long period of "leftist" ideological trend on the development of socialist literature. It was on this foundation that the party, through strong determination, issued its farsighted strategic goals, which created a series of important readjustments in the party's policies on work in literature and art, thereby basically creating a lively environment and atmosphere beneficial to the development of literature and art and vigorously arousing the enthusiasm and creativity of the broad masses of literature and art workers. The literature of this new period has risen as a vigorous new force from difficulties and complications, and in these few short years, has miraculously formed an unprecedentedly flourishing and thriving situation and an admirable momentum to forward development as never seen before. Facts prove that socialist literature possesses a limitlessly powerful vitality and that we face the bright prospect of exciting new Renaissance.

The experience of many years has given us a fairly clear understanding of how socialist literature is healthier for having developed along the correct path of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought. What are the major experiences we have gained? These cannot really be explained in one or two words, yet I believe it would be worthwhile to bear in mind the following points.

1. Literature is the spirit of an age and the most vivid history of an era's spiritual development. Therefore, at no time can we divorce the age from the people nor can we divorce them from an understanding and comprehension of the most important contradictions and struggle of the time. Conversely, only from the heights of that era's advanced thinking and the murky depths of the vigorous, mighty current of historical development can we delve into researching the forms and development of the spiritual aspect of the people of that era. Only by fusing together the macroscopic and the microscopic will our creative work have a skeleton and flesh and blood. If it has tremendous historical profundity and rich social content, it will also have the distinctive flavor of the period and heartrending artistic effect. Over the last few years, the source of harmful influences on artistic forms by "leftist" and rightist ideological obstructions can be traced to their conscious or unconscious weakening of the extremely profound relationship between literature and the age. They invariably intended to remove literature far from the real life of the people and to limit literature's rich and vivid reflection of the basic qualities of the people in all their social relations. Further, it goes without saying that the spiritual shackles imposed during the period of the "gang of four" cut literature off completely from its sources and basically suffocated it. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "The artistic life of all progressive literature and art workers should be in contact with the flesh and blood of their fellow people. To forget, overlook or sever this contact would

be to exhaust this artistic life." The positive and negative artistic experiences of the last 35 years have proven this irrefutable truth. In the practice of literature, it has never failed as guidance.

2. Literature is a complex, creative product of labor, which can countenance no uniform pattern or mechanism. Just as Marx said, "Every dewdrop will sparkle with an infinite array of color under the illumination of the sun," it is inconceivable that "the spirit of the sun, no matter how many individuals or what things it shines upon, would only produce one color." It is in view of this that the party advocates upholding the four basic tenets in political ideology while upholding a two-way orientation in the fields of literature and art at the same time, and staunchly carries out the policies of letting a hundred flowers bloom, weeding out the old and bringing forth the new, making foreign things serve China and making the past serve the present, and promoting the free development of different forms, styles and schools in literature and art. The positive and negative experiences of the past 35 years demonstrate that the way in which the first set of tenets of the hundred flowers policy were carried out had very great significance for the development and success of literature. The desolation of literature and art during the "gang of four" period forms a clear contrast to the thriving and prosperous condition of literature and art since the Third Plenum of the 11th party Central Committee and most incontrovertibly proves that in the garden of spiritual civilization, only by carrying out the hundred flowers policy can we vigorously safeguard and encourage the enthusiasm and creativity of the broad masses of writers and bring out the aesthetically satisfying, graceful and infinitely rich blossoms of literature and art. This is the only way.

3. Centered on the general goal of creating a new situation in the socialist modernization drive, our literature should constantly be opening up broad new fields, to guarantee to the fullest extent the diversity and richness of literary subject matter, forms and styles, in order to satisfy the varied requirements of the people's spiritual life. Socialist literature naturally should use communist and socialist ideology as its core and use outstandingly moving creative works to elevate the people's spiritual realm and moral values, and it should oppose and resist spiritual pollution. Nevertheless, this is not to say that our literature should be required to use only flat tones and a single subject. Historical experience tells us that simplistic, metaphysical and dogmatic requirements can only lead to the shackling of the productive forces of literature and art, which is harmful to the lively, vigorous development of literature. Because people's levels of ideological understanding are not identical, their aesthetic appreciation is different, their tastes and habits are different and their spiritual requirements are different, our works of literature ought to have corresponding different levels with regard to the object of requirements on different levels. We encourage writers to use the greatest possible effort in portraying the new socialist man and spirited pioneers of reform, and because it is really personal to them, the more concentratedly they embody the advanced requirements of the times and the direction of historical development. Still, with respect to all the different types of works that elevate and inspire people and give them entertainment and aesthetic enjoyment, we should grant them equal respect and support and they ought equally to occupy their own place. Life has many types and

varieties of tones and literature should also have many types and varieties of tones. Only in this way can our literature really achieve a riot of color, be loved by the broadest masses of the people and vigorously play a role that cannot be replaced by any other branch.

4. To uphold the hundred flowers policy in literature and art work, we should uphold regular contention and develop criticism and theoretical inquiry that is scientific, reasonable and has an attitude of equality. Over the last 35 years, one of the most profound lessons of our literary movement is that when resolving problems of literature and art, extremely mistaken and harmful methods were often adopted, such as wielding a stick, engaging in joint attacks and engaging in movements. History proves that such methods cannot reap beneficial results, but simply create terrible damage. We must always take a warning from these painful lessons. Naturally, this is not to say that we can abolish criticism and theoretical inquiry in literature and art or adopt the vulgar attitude of liberalism with regard to problems in literature and art. In the development of literature and art, there will always be both achievements and shortcomings, both experience and lessons, all of which require going through regular criticism of literature and art, the initiation of earnest contention and carrying out research and synthesis. If there is affirmation, then there is analysis; if inquiry, then criticism. This allows us, in literary and art work, to form a truly comradely, fair and reasonable atmosphere for contention, in order to promote the development of the whole of literature and art. Comrade Deng Xiaoping once pointed out that "methods of criticism should be carefully studied and limits should be appropriate, so as not to engage in joint attacks or movements, yet we must certainly not fail to do ideological work or engage in criticism and self-criticism, for we cannot lose the weapon of criticism." This is a scientific summation of the experience of this problem and we should study this statement and earnestly carry it out in practice, for it can keep us from getting bogged down again in one-sidedness.

Over the last 35 years, the experience and lessons we have gained are extremely rich and profound and the few points discussed here are only some of the aspects that I feel to be rather more profound.

At present, the overall situation in our country is extremely exciting, for a truly earthshaking tide of reform is advancing swiftly forward. New conditions, things and people are emerging in an endless stream, so that writers with a sense of responsibility to the times naturally cannot fail to follow with the most fervent interest the changes of the times and the destiny of the courageous reformers and pioneers who are creating a new situation. Our literature ought to prepare the public for this great transformation and expend greater efforts to portray typical cases of this kind of new person and thus illuminate the way for people to exert themselves to move forward.

A great roc can mount 90,000 li in the air and the mighty current of history is vast and turbulent. Our socialist literature should accord with the pulse of the times and stay in close step with the times, in order that new works of magnificent sweep may be written.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

IMPORTANCE OF LAWS STRESSED

Shanghai FAXUE [JURISPRUDENCE] in Chinese No 8, 10 Aug 84 pp 1-4

[Article by Tao Xijin [7118 1585 2516]: "Act According to Laws--the Central Link in Coordinated Development of the Legal System"]

[Text]

I

The central link in strengthening and improving China's socialist legal system and insuring its coordinated development is to do things according to law. Laws are meant to be implemented, no matter what kind of laws they are or which class they belong to. Even the best law would be worthless if it is not enforceable. In other words, acting according to law holds the key to strengthening and improving the legal system. In our country, "substituting one's words for the law" or "putting officials above the law" are not permitted, nor does anyone have the privilege of putting himself outside or above the Constitution and the law. Only by acting strictly according to laws can we make our socialist cause prosper and provide our four modernizations program with a reliable legal safeguard.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has paid great attention to developing socialist democracy and strengthening and improving the socialist legal system. Doing things according to laws has become the general trend and is supported by the people. An unprecedentedly excellent situation has emerged in the building of our legal system. However, can we say that there is no more problems in doing things according to laws? I don't think we can. According to reports, many comrades take a skeptical, wait-and-see attitude toward doing things according to laws. Some are even worried and scared. They are afraid that if they act according to laws, they might fail to keep abreast of the developing situation and, should policies change, find themselves on the wrong track; that by acting according to laws they might offend the leadership and have to give in under pressures from their immediate superiors; that they might be accused of "right deviation" for "rigid adherence" to the law; and that by following the law they might tie their own hands. Therefore, they are filled with misgivings and fears. There are many reasons for it, and we cannot put all the blame on these comrades. We should find out what are the obstructions to doing things according to laws. First, because old China had gone through more than 2,000 years of feudal autocracy under monarchs whose powers were absolute and whose words were law, following the leader instead of the law and substituting his words

for the law have become a habit which firmly confines people's minds and cannot be changed overnight. Second, since the founding of New China, we have paid attention to opposing and criticizing the bourgeois legal concept but failed to pay enough attention to the struggle against the influence of feudal autocracy and the "special privilege" mentality. As a result, some cadres have acquired the chronic disease of thinking that laws are only meant to keep the common people under control, while they have the privilege to place themselves outside the law. Third, for a long time our comrades have been used to acting according to policies, holding that policies are superior to laws, and they have become indifferent in their attitude toward the law. In the meantime, because of the interference of "leftist" thinking over a rather long period of time, the idea of preferring rule by men to rule by law has gained dominance, and the nihilist view of laws has prevailed. The controversy between "rule by men" and "rule by law" of the 1950's was essentially a debate between the nihilist view of laws and the idea of rule by laws. All this has formed a stubborn force of habit and become a serious obstacle to doing things according to laws. This can also be taken as an important reason for the lack of coordination in the development of the legal system.

People still remember that shortly after the promulgation of China's first constitution, the Eighth Party Congress clearly set the important task of strengthening and improving the country's legal system. Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out in clear-cut terms then: "The period of stormy revolution is in the past, new relations of production have been established, and the task of our struggle has changed to protecting the smooth development of the social productive forces. Therefore, the method of struggle must also change, and a complete legal system is absolutely necessary." In his speech at the Eighth Party Congress, Comrade Dong Biwu stressed: "Now, either in view of the country's need for a legal system, or in view of the objective possibility, a complete legal system must be established step by step. If we allow the lack of a complete legal system to continue, or if we procrastinate for too long, we cannot deny that we have a serious problem." He held that doing things according to law was the central link in strengthening the people's democratic legal system, and that all state organs must act according to law and must not do anything in violation of the law. All citizens must abide by the law and oppose any illegal activities. Anyone who knowingly violates the law must be dealt with according to law without exception, no matter how high his present position is, or how great his past contributions were. This was the policy established by the party 28 years ago for strengthening the legal system. It is regrettable, however, that soon afterwards, owing to the interference of "left" ideas and the party's mistake in its overall guiding principle, this correct policy established by the Eighth Party Congress, like other correct policies, was not earnestly implemented, and as a result, the tragic decade of turmoil followed. This painful lesson calls for deep thought. Why was the correct policy of strengthening the socialist legal system subject to so much interference and disruption? In addition to what has been mentioned previously, the lack of internal coordination in the development of the legal system has to be another important reason. As an example, the 1954 Constitution was a good constitution, but the question was how could it be implemented. At that time, there was no realistic legal measures of any kind to serve as a safeguard. Moreover, the fundamental principles and the basic rights of citizens established by the Constitution were not supplemented by relevant laws to make them

enforceable. Some urgently needed basic laws, including the criminal law, criminal procedure law, civil law, civil procedure law and so forth, were not drafted yet. It is common sense that the people's courts cannot possibly fix the criminal or civil responsibilities of lawbreakers by citing articles of the Constitution. Consequently, when the country's democratic system was undermined and when citizens' personal rights were infringed upon, the Constitution became a mere scrap of paper and was totally powerless. This historical experience is worth remembering.

II

There are two aspects to acting according to laws: There must be laws, and laws must be observed. The two complement each other and both are indispensable. The precondition for acting according to laws is to have laws, laws which are enforceable. Strengthening legislation and perfecting the laws are the prerequisite for coordinated development of the legal system.

The present situation in developing the legal system is much better than it was before the cultural revolution. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has set things right and put the stress on developing socialist democracy and strengthening and improving the socialist legal system. In view of the lack of a complete legal system in our country with many laws not drafted yet and the phenomena of "substituting one's words for the law," acting according to the will of leaders and so forth, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has taken a step further than the Eighth Party Congress, calling for efforts to speed up the development of a complete legal system, even if it has to be a little crude, to insure that "there are laws, laws are observed, enforcement is strict, and lawbreakers are punished." In the past few years, hundreds of laws and regulations have been revised or drafted to meet the requirements of the historical changes in social and economic development, and tremendous progress has been made in various areas of the legal system. However, it is undeniable that many problems remain to be solved in coordinating the development of the legal system and the relations between different parts of the legal system, both internal and external. Our present laws and regulations are far from meeting the needs of developing the material and spiritual civilization and cooperation with foreign countries. Therefore, the legal system has to be further developed, and the tasks of political and economic legislation are very arduous. Especially the civil law, which is an important basic law for readjusting the country's socialist economic relations and personal relations of citizens, is still not enacted. This situation is very unfavorable to the four modernizations drive, the development of foreign trade, the attraction of foreign investment and the restructuring of the economic system now in progress. Take the institution of the legal person for example. Because China has been slow in establishing the system of legal person, which plays a major part in civil transactions, many of our enterprises still do not have legal person status, and the situation is directly or indirectly affecting their normal economic activities at home and abroad. If we do not give the socialist enterprises the legal person status they are entitled to have according to laws, and if we do not allow them to have relatively independent assets so that they can independently take property responsibilities abroad, then who is to go to court in lawsuits involving foreigners? The state or the enterprise? If it is the state,

wouldn't that be the state running everything? In domestic relations, if the system of legal person is not really established, and the state assumes full responsibility for all damage payments on behalf of the state enterprises, isn't that "eating from the same big pot?" The interests of the state will suffer, and independent accounting by the enterprises and their assumption of responsibility for their own profits or losses will be out of the question, let alone the structural reform of the economy. The result will be protecting the backward, wearing down the advanced, and the four modernizations drive will suffer.

Complete legislation consists of two parts of work: making new laws, and sorting out old laws and regulations. This also involves a question of coordinated development. It is because the aim of complete legislation is "to have laws to follow," but if we pay attention only to making new laws and regulations and neglect the large number of existing laws and regulations, the inevitable result will be "having more laws than can be followed." Therefore, sorting out and compiling all the laws and regulations enacted since the founding of New China is yet another important aspect of the coordinated development of our legal system.

During the early period following the founding of New China, in addition to the enactment and promulgation of the Constitution, roughly more than 4,000 laws and regulations were enacted by central and local authorities, of which more than 1,700 were enacted or approved by state organs at the central level. These laws played a great role in promoting socialist revolution and national economic development at that time. But, some of those laws are rather crude, and some are contradictory to one another. Moreover, with the passage of time and changes in social and economic relations, some of these laws are no longer relevant, some are partially relevant, some have been replaced by new laws, and some can still be used after revision and improvement. A great deal of sorting and compiling will be required. Work was started shortly after the promulgation of the first constitution, and the "Collection of Laws and Regulations of the People's Republic of China" was published subsequently for easy reference and implementation. Too bad the work was suspended for a rather long period, leading inevitably to the phenomenon of "having more laws than can be followed." People do not know which laws are still in force, which have been discarded, and which are still useful after revision.

In his government work report to the Fourth Session of the First National People's Congress in June 1957, Comrade Zhou Enlai, referring to the development of the legal system, pointed out: Changing objective conditions and practical needs require that "we enact various kinds of socialist laws, while sorting out the laws and regulations made in the past." Here Comrade Zhou Enlai clearly told us that complete legislation consists of two parts of work, that is, making new laws and regulations and sorting out old ones. This is the basic principle for coordinated development of legislative work put forward for the first time by Premier Zhou Enlai.

On the guiding ideology for complete legislation, questions that merit attention are: Is it better to work faster, or slower? Should we put undue stress on the stability of laws, or should we integrate stability with the scientific character of laws? I think that after 35 years, when today's socialist

modernization program has a crying need for a complete legal system, legislative work should move faster, and the spirit of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's instruction--"It is better to have than not to have, and it is better to work faster than slower."--should be carried out in our legislative work. To be sure, making laws is no easy task and requires certain conditions. But whether conditions are ripe is relative. Some conditions may seem ripe now, but they may change before long, and the law will have to be revised or supplemented correspondingly. A case in point is the Criminal Law, which has been revised and added to many times already. Things are always in a ceaseless motion, and nothing is fixed and immutable. The lawmakers' task is to make laws with what is fairly ripe now or what will be ripe soon. But the purpose of law is not only to stabilize existing and rational things. We must also consider the trend of social and economic development and use the law to protect and promote the development of the country's economic relations in a direction favorable to the socialist modernization drive. In this sense, even though something may seem to be ripe now, it may not be necessary to have it stabilized by law because it is not in keeping with the trend of development. Conversely, something may seem unripe today, but we should promote its growth because it is the main trend of development. Therefore, on the question of complete legislation, consideration must be given to both the stability and scientific nature of law.

III

The basic content of acting according to laws is to insure that laws are observed and strictly enforced and that lawbreakers are dealt with. This is a very important aspect of the coordinated development within our socialist legal system. If laws are not observed, then what is the purpose in making them? Any citizen can understand this, but a real solution to the problem is very difficult to find. A complete solution calls for a better understanding of the legal system by all citizens and a protracted common struggle by all the people and party members. Historical facts have taught us that the fact that there are laws does not equate to rule of law. Generally speaking, at present certain links in our legislative and judicial work still fall short of the requirements. And publicity work for the legal system and jurisprudential studies must be stepped up. Therefore, to build a socialist country with a complete legal system, much work remains to be done and great efforts must be made.

First, it is necessary to train a large number of competent legal workers. It is right to pay attention to the training of economic and technical personnel, but equal attention should be paid to the training of legal workers as a part of the superstructure. In other words, to insure that laws are observed and strictly enforced and that lawbreakers are dealt with, we must have cadres who have studied, understand and are able to enforce the law. At present, however, among our leading cadres and legal cadres at various levels, including judges, procurators, lawyers, court presidents, presiding judges of court divisions and chief procurators, very few have studied and understand law or possess a fair amount of legal knowledge. This contrasts sharply with the fairly good progress we have made in the field of legislation. In the past few years, we have done a great deal of work, restoring or opening university law departments, institutes of political science and law and

political and judicial cadre schools. Some provinces and cities have also opened law schools, judicial cadre schools, evening law colleges, correspondence schools and so forth. This phenomenon is very encouraging, but its impact is still very limited when compared with the magnitude of our tasks in building the legal system. For one thing, the gap, the pressing current need, is far from being met. For another, we have not yet given full play to the role of those who have studied law in the past and understand law. To solve the problem, major efforts should continue to be devoted to expanding the existing university law departments, political science and law institutes and political and judicial cadre schools, and in addition, the localities should open more secondary vocational law schools to enroll senior middle school graduates or young people with an equivalent educational level, who will receive 2 years of training and then work as court clerks, office workers in judicial organs, probational lawyers in legal advisory departments and so forth, where they will temper themselves and continue to study on their own while doing practical work. In the future, they may be considered for further education. As to cadres in the judicial system who have never studied law, they should be sent to law schools to receive education and training by rotation. In the future, the regulations governing appointments and dismissals of judicial cadres should be reformed. First of all, a specific examination system should be instituted for promotions, under which only the best qualified will be promoted based on educational level, so that the quality of the ranks of legal workers will be improved step by step.

Second, it is necessary to launch a vigorous publicity campaign for the legal system and popularize legal education to instill all citizens with socialist legal ideas so that a socialist legal tradition and habit can be formed, in which everyone studies, observes and acts according to law. Elementary legal lessons should be started from primary and junior middle schools. Television, radio, newspapers and publishing houses should give vigorous publicity to the legal system and sponsor education programs on law enforcement and observance to enable the masses of citizens to understand what activities are legal and what are illegal and thus have the courage to fight against all illegal activities which willfully undermine the socialist legal system, including illegal activities committed by working personnel of state organs in the performance of their duties.

Third, it is necessary to strengthen the theoretical studies of law, the collection of legal materials and the publication of legal books. Our legal research work is very backward. Our legal research personnel are small in number and low in quality. Books and reference materials are lacking. Information on legal research and legislation in foreign countries is not available. Translated materials are scarce, and basic theoretical research on Marxist legal science is far from adequate. Research on various branches of law is also very backward. Legal books of a general nature suitable for use by the masses are limited in numbers. Really presentable legal works written to explain China's legal system from a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint are a rarity. Simple teaching materials on law for primary and middle schools are not compiled yet. In bookstores, one can hardly find any books on law. This state of affairs must be changed quickly because it is very unsuitable for our legislative and judicial work and especially for the requirements of the socialist modernization drive. This is also a weak link in the coordinated development of the legal system at present.

Fourth, it is necessary to uphold the dignity of law and establish the absolute authority of the legal system. We must firmly implement the series of principles and policies put forward by the Party Central Committee for strengthening the legal system, consciously enforce and observe the law and permit no one to have the privilege of being above the law. All laws and regulations, which have come into effect or have not lost their legal force, must be effectively enforced. Now, there are again signs among judicial cadres that laws are not being observed. They seem to feel that they may either enforce the current laws or interpret them as they wish. Some even defend their illegal activities by wrongly interpreting them as enthusiasm to enforce the law. Such behavior can only lead to the destruction of the socialist legal system. Historical experience has proved that on the matter of enforcing the law, the pragmatic practice of "each takes what he needs" often leads to unthinkably grave consequences. This is also an important reason why cases of frame-ups, false charges and wrong sentences did happen in the past. It is therefore a historical lesson that must be remembered.

12802

CSO: 4005/233

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HE DONGCHANG ON REFORM OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

OW261137 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1226 GMT 25 Dec 84

[Text] Beijing, 25 Dec (XINHUA)--Speaking at a forum today to mark the resumption of publication of XIN SHAONIAN BAO [NEW YOUTH NEWS], He Dongchang, minister of education, pointed out that the nation's middle and primary education workers must pay special attention to establishing a correct concept about education and improve their methods of teaching to lighten the students' burden.

He Dongchang said: Effective measures should be taken to free the primary school students from their heavy burden of learning and studying. From now on, in areas where junior middle school education has become universal or essentially universal, the entrance examination system for primary school graduates to enter junior middle schools must be reformed. Pilot projects should be carried out to gradually eliminate the unified entrance examination from primary to junior middle schools. For schools with too many applications for admission, a system of recommendations plus oral tests may be adopted to screen the applicants.

The XIN SHAONIAN BAO began publication in [year indistinct] in Shanghai but stopped publication for some reason later on. Recently, with the approval of the Secretariat of the CYL Central Committee, it decided to resume publication in January 1985. Published on a weekly basis each Monday, the XIN SHAONIAN BAO is a young pioneers' paper targeted at primary school students in their middle and lower grades.

Kang Keqing, Rong Gaotang, and others extended their congratulations at the meeting.

CSO: 4005/277

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

TEACHERS OF SCHOOLS OF HIGHER LEARNING GROW IN NUMBER

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 22 Sep 84 p 3

/Article: "Teaching Contingent of Schools of Higher Learning Grows Ceaselessly"/

/Text/ In the 35 years since the founding of the nation, with the development of higher education, the teaching contingent of full-time higher institutions of learning ceaselessly matured and grew. Particularly after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, great achievements were made in its readjustment and reorganization, reinforcement and renewal and training and improvement. Today, China's schools of higher learning have built a well-trained teaching contingent of a certain number, covering almost all fields.

According to the 1983 statistics, the number of regular higher education teachers totaled 302,919, constituting 18.4 times that of 1949, and ranked, next to the United States and the Soviet Union, third in the world. Among them, there were 33,485 professors and assistant professors (approximately 2/5 of all current high-level experts throughout the country), constituting 4.8 times that of 1949; 137,631 lecturers, constituting 40.2 times that of 1949; 28,338 instructors and 103,469 assistants. As a whole, the developmental rate of the teaching contingent was relatively fast: The 167,000 teachers of 1976 rose sharply to 302,000 by 1983, almost double in 7 years. As the schools of higher learning retained, in recent years, a group of superior graduate students and college graduates to teach, teachers under 30 years of age constituted 23.4 percent of the total, and new forces made relatively large increases.

The academic categories are fairly complete among the higher education teachers. According to statistics, there are 85,000 engineering teachers, constituting 28 percent of all teachers; 72,500 science teachers, constituting 23.9 percent; 65,600 liberal arts teachers, constituting 21.6 percent; 27,800 medical science teachers, constituting 9.2 percent; 17,100 agricultural and forestry teachers, constituting 5.6 percent; 8,100 in finance and economics, constituting 2.8 percent; 26,600 in education, politics and law, physical education and art, constituting 8.8 percent. They teach and research in more than 800 disciplines and specializations. In recent years, with China's economic and social development and the arrival of the new technological revolution in the world, the schools of higher learning teaching contingent of such relatively weak links as liberal arts, finance and economics, politics and law, and agriculture have been, with the effort of many quarters, reinforced, and that of such new fields

as computer science, bioengineering, communications science, materials science, marine engineering, fiber optics communication and aerospace science and technology is gradually forming.

After the founding of the nation, the state, adopting a series of measures, ceaselessly improved the quality of the teaching contingent and promoted its growth. Besides vigorously training and improving young teachers, it gave special attention to the cultivation of new academic leaders. By launching scientific research and academic exchange activities, the schools trained key teachers by sending them for advanced studies in key higher institutions of learning in the country or abroad and produced obvious results. Many young and middle-aged teachers showed their talent and matured vigorously. The higher schools throughout the country have close to 10,000 new academic leaders, bring life to the vigorous development of teaching and scientific research.

Toiling assiduously at their own posts in the past 35 years, the teachers of schools of higher learning trained for the state 49,800 graduate students and 4.11 million college and professional training school graduates, produced many important scientific research results and developed science and technology, thereby promoting the growth of the national economy and the progress of society and making great contributions. As shown by the facts, China's higher education teaching contingent not only can basically satisfy the need of its higher education, but also lays the foundation for training more and better talents of all fields for its four modernizations program in the 1990's and the beginning of the next century.

6080

CSO: 4005/186

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LABOR REEDUCATION UNITS TO BECOME SCHOOLS

OW260727 Beijing XINHUA in English 0657 GMT 26 Dec 84

[Text] Beijing, 26 Dec (XINHUA)--All the reeducation-through-labor units in China will be turned into special schools within the next three years, to train juvenile delinquents to become useful citizens.

This was announced by Chinese Minister of Justice Zou Yu at a one-week meeting exchanging experiences in reeducating young offenders through labor, which ended on Monday in Jinan, capital of Shandong Province.

He urged all the labor reeducation units in the country to reform the young offenders into law-abiding useful people with culture and production skills through regular and systematic education in politics, culture, technology and labor.

Zou Yu recommended the experience of the first labor reeducation center in Shandong Province, which has set up 61 culture study and 10 technical classes since 1980. Some 87 percent of the juvenile delinquents there are studying in these classes.

CSO: 4000/064

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

SCHOOL FOR PREGNANT WOMEN OPENS IN BEIJING

OW101914 Beijing XINHUA in English 1627 GMT 10 Dec 84

[Text] Beijing, 10 Dec (XINHUA)--A pregnant women's school opened here today.

Sponsored by the Municipal Women's Federation, the school, the first of its kind in the Chinese capital, has 16 courses on health in pregnancy, mother and child care and babies exercises.

Most of the first 30 students are well-educated and have qualms about discussing "delicate" subjects.

"I asked elders about pregnancy, but they don't know much about it," said two-month-pregnant Wang Yini.

A husbands' course will be added.

The courses will be given by doctors, professors, gynecologists, obstetricians, pediatricians and nursery school teachers.

"This school is based on 200 lectures on women's and children's hygiene given in recent years, which attracted more than 100,000 people," said Li Gangzhong, director of the Municipal Women's Federation.

Schools will be set up in all districts and counties of the city, she said.

Schools for newlyweds and parents are being planned to form a complete network for the care and education of children.

Similar schools have been set up in Guangzhou, Shanghai and elsewhere.

CSO: 4000/064

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEW REGULATIONS FOR GRADUATE STUDENTS REPORTED

Some Exempted from Entrance Exams

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Oct 84 p 3

[Article by Yang Jianye [2799 2696 2814]: "New Regulations Implemented for Next Year's Graduate Students; Enrollment of More Than 32,000 Graduate Students Planned"]

[Text] China plans to enroll 32,000-plus graduate students in 1985, of whom 28,000 are working toward a Master's degree, and 4,000 are special research students [not working toward a degree]. Registration is scheduled for 1-5 December, while exams will be held on 13, 14, and 15 February, 1985.

The most important new regulations for Master's degree students in 1985 are:

1. Key colleges and universities throughout China may, on an experimental basis, recommend a small number of this year's outstanding graduates to enter the Master's program without taking the entrance exam. These candidates must be outstanding undergraduates who are graduating this year from key colleges and universities throughout China. No more than 5 percent of the total number of graduating students can be candidates. Candidates admitted to the Master's degree program without taking the exam can constitute no more than 30 percent of a unit's total Master's enrollees. The disciplines and majors of a certain portion of the new enrollees will be made public.
2. The entrance exams for 1985 enrollees will focus on testing the student's rudimentary knowledge, basic theory, basic technical abilities, and grasp of the undergraduate curriculum. The test questions will be comprehensive and will test a larger content of the undergraduate curriculum.
3. Set up more new enrichment centers in major areas for the recruitment of Master's candidates.

The Ministry of Education's "Regulations for Enrolling Master's Degree Candidates in 1985" points out: Candidates must be graduates from a college or university or have the equivalent level of education, they must be in good health, and they must be age 35 or younger (born after 1 September 1950). This can be extended to age 37 for candidates currently working or who are

recommended by their units for special training, or university teachers enrolled in the special non-degree class. Master's candidates taking the entrance exam who are graduating from undergraduate core curricula must complete their undergraduate coursework and earn high marks.

New Ph.D. Qualifying Exam

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Oct 84 p 3

[Article by Zhang Jimin [2797 4949 3046] and Huang Xingzhang [7806 5281 4545]:
"Outstanding Physics Graduate Students May Go Directly into Ph.D. Program"]

[Text] The Graduate School of the China Science and Technology Universities, together with the Physics Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, have jointly issued a new regulation: Graduate students in physics enrolling 1984 and after, may, following a year and a half of basic training and earning high marks, take a one-time-only qualifying exam for the Ph.D. program. Those who pass may enter the Ph.D. program directly [bypassing Master's]. Those who do not or cannot apply for the exam may enter as Master's candidates.

12681

CSO: 4005/159

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CONTINUING EDUCATION FOR S&T PERSONNEL, CADRES URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Oct 84 p 5

[Article by Tian Fu [3944 1133]: "The New Revolution in Technology and Continuing Education"]

[Text] Making a planned, steady effort to handle continuing education for the cadre contingent is a key element in our strategic response to the new technical revolution.

The daily-changing development of science and technology has caused knowledge to age with the times, such that the era when one could rely entirely upon a "one-time education" is gone, never to return. Only by adopting a form of continuing education can our expert technicians and leading cadres constantly renew their knowledge and preserve their ability to work vigorously. Otherwise they may face elimination through competition.

Continuing education is the extension and development of traditional education. It is intended to constantly improve the knowledge and service abilities of middle and upper level scientists and technicians leading cadres. Many nations currently are using continuing education more and more as a means of training key personnel and leading figures in technical development and science management as well as the leaders of various sectors of society.

Every year approximately 12 to 15 percent of all engineers in the United States receive continuing education. Some 12,000 units administer continuing education, while an average of over \$2,000 per engineer is spent annually for continuing education. In the USSR, more than 20 percent of all engineers receive continuing education every year. Nearly every sector or major enterprise runs its own school for continuing education or for cadre advanced training. There are over 90 such academies in Soviet government departments. The French government and French enterprises have thoroughly developed continuing education. Continuing education expenses paid by the government amount to roughly 1.1 to 1.8 percent of the total wages of workers and staff. The continuing education expenses paid by enterprises amounts to around 15 percent of the total national outlay for middle and elementary schools.

In order to guarantee the development of continuing education and to forestall the apprehension by many companies concerning the loss of personnel due to

continuing education which thus are unwilling to spend money on it, certain governments have instituted strict regulations and have enacted laws concerning continuing education requirements. The right and obligation of scientific and technical personnel to receive continuing education, as well as the allotted time, expenses, and proportion of personnel in advanced training, are all clearly stipulated in regulations and statutes, and violators are subject to legal prosecution. Both France and Democratic Germany [GDR] have continuing education legislation.

Normal functioning of continuing education work requires excellent organization. In addition to seeing to it that departments run their own schools, universities must undertake the task of improving the quality of continuing education. Universities are where knowledge and talent are concentrated, so it is fitting that they take charge of continuing education work. Famous American universities such as M.I.T., the University of Wisconsin, and Stanford University all vigorously undertake continuing education. Many countries consider undergraduate education, graduate education, and continuing education to be the three major tasks of colleges and universities. It is worth pointing out that Qinghua and other institutions of higher learning in China have set up a 3-academy system for this purpose, placing continuing education on a par with graduate and undergraduate education. This is an important reform in higher education.

Many countries also utilize the superior knowledge concentrated in academic institutes, societies, and research associations to set up schools for continuing education. In 1983 the China Association for Science and Technology held a conference on continuing education work. The Association is an important base for the mission of continuing education, and on the whole its results are better and standards higher compared with the continuing education classes operated by factories and enterprises.

The establishment of various kinds of training centers has become one developing trend in continuing education on a worldwide scale. France, for example, has established a variety of training centers numbering more than 1,500, which enroll an average of 78 percent of the science and technology work force for 16 days every year. These training centers receive financial, capital construction, professional, and other support from the departments concerned. The training centers increasingly rely upon society's resources for their operation. The system of appointments has been adopted, and teachers are more flexible and mobile. As for teaching methods, research provides a backup force while new knowledge is imparted through lecturing. In this way the high quality of continuing education is preserved.

Continuing education differs from undergraduate university education in both content and method. The content of undergraduate education is consistent, as changes are limited to partial readjustments. But the content of continuing education is completely new. This demands a high degree of flexibility and adaptability. Consequently, before a new continuing education class begins, a survey must be conducted so that the content of courses and lectures corresponds to the needs of the students.

Areas of emphasis in continuing education differ for various kinds of personnel, but generally speaking, they can be divided into four types. The first is supplemental courses offered to scientific and technical personnel in new jobs to continually perfect their knowledge. The second is self-improvement courses for scientific and technical personnel who are taking new continuing education courses to enable them to earn a degree. The third category is refresher courses designed to offer new knowledge to suit new requirements. The fourth is repeat courses designed to deepen the student's understanding of his present knowledge. These also enable the teachers to revise old lectures so as to bring them into line with new requirements, all of which serve to improve the creative capacities and performance of scientific and technical personnel.

Experience has shown that small, intensive study lecture classes of 2 to 3 months' duration have proven to be the most popular form of continuing education both in China and abroad. This form is extremely effective for improving the leadership and administrative abilities of leading cadres. Particularly good results have been attained among those high-level leading cadres with serious responsibilities and heavy workloads.

12681
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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PROBLEMS IN MARXIST-LENINIST EDUCATION DISCUSSED

Beijing JIAOYU YANJIU [EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 9, Sep 84 pp 11-14

[Speech by Wang Huide [3769 1920 1795] at the Conference on Ideological and Political Work in the Nation's Institutions of Higher Learning: "Some Issues in Marxist-Leninist Theoretical Education in Institutions of Higher Learning"]

[Text] I would like to focus my talk on Marxist-Leninist education.

The draft of "Resolutions of Problems on How To Strengthen and Upgrade Marxist-Leninist Theoretical Education in Institutions of Higher Learning" handed out on the floor has generated constructive discussions among participants. The major problems concerning Marxist-Leninist theoretical education have been touched upon in the draft. I will focus on only two of them.

First, we must emphasize Marxist-Leninist theoretical education in institutions of higher learning. This sounds like a commonplace issue, and since it is commonplace, we should bring it up often and try to discuss it whenever possible. Chairman Mao once said that Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical basis of our ideology. Marxist-Leninist theoretical education is a major issue that ought to be discussed often. The ideology with which we mold our students constitutes one of the significant differences between socialist and capitalist universities. Capitalist universities tend to influence and mold their students with all kinds of political and academic views that are infused with bourgeois values. They teach students to step on others in the pursuit of self-interest and personal goals--they call it competition and survival of the fittest. Socialist universities are designed to influence and mold students with Marxism-Leninism and the communist world view. We guide and encourage them to serve the people, and to work for socialism and communism. We take into consideration the fact that in a few years these college students will become the key force on every front of the four modernizations. They are the successors to the cause of socialist modernization. This is why we should be concerned with not only whether the scientific modernization but also whether politically they can adhere to the socialist principle and serve the people and socialist construction with their knowledge. It does not matter how learned or competent a person is scientifically, culturally and technically, he can still be harmful to the

socialist cause if he does not feel attached to our country and the socialist system and is unwilling to work for the interests of the people and socialism. Therefore, the most fundamental requirement of our college students has always been a firm and correct political ideology. This is also our primary goal in conducting the political and ideological education of college students.

Marxism-Leninism is the most important and fundamental part of our ideological and political education. As has been described by Comrade [Hu] Qiaomu, Marxism-Leninism is the "crown" and the "nerve center" of ideological work.

Although recognizing and resisting the corrosive influence of bourgeois political ideology, in recent years our college students have been corroded by all kinds of bourgeois political views. Every year we find several books containing those viewpoints circulating among students. Of course, not everything in these books is undesirable. Some of the issues discussed are actually inspiring and thought-provoking. However, in terms of world view, these books are infused with that of the capitalist class and look at issues from a bourgeois perspective. These books enjoy an even wider circulation among students than among cadres. Having read these books, some students tend to view our socialist society and our party from the stance and perspective of these books; they become critical and reproachful of everything. This is what we call the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology. With what can we fight these bourgeois political views and ideological influences? We fight them with Marxism-Leninism.

Now let's talk about the formation of the correct outlook on life and a sense of morality among students. They involve how students view and value their lives, how they treat others and how they regard the relationship between individuals and society and an individual's responsibility to society. Should they work for personal gains or the cause of socialism and communism? These questions can only be resolved with Marxism-Leninism (in particular, the materialist conception of history). It would be very difficult to resolve problems regarding an outlook on life and a sense of morality without first resolving that one's world view.

Therefore, we should stress Marxist-Leninist theory in conducting ideological and political education. It is the foundation of our ideological and political undertakings.

We hope that the party and political leaders of the propaganda departments, educational departments and colleges in various locales will emphasize Marxist-Leninist theoretical education, strengthen their leadership in and management of Marxist-Leninist theory classes and support the work being done by instructors of political theory in order to stress the importance of Marxist-Leninist education. The kind of attitude which regards Marxism-Leninism classes as nonessential or as totally unnecessary has not been rectified completely. It is our hope that this kind of viewpoint and attitude will be corrected in a timely fashion. The ideological and political work conducted by the 4th Military District's university serves as a good example. A document on the ideological work conducted by the university has been issued jointly by the Central Propaganda Department, the General

Department and the Ministry of Education. The Central Propaganda Department's Bureau of Theories has issued a bulletin which summarizes the university's experiences in Marxist-Leninist education. The bulletin relates how Marxist-Leninist education is conducted in the university. According to the bulletin, the university's experiences may be summarized as follows:

1. Due to the emphasis by the party committee, the university has made Marxist-Leninist education a matter of vital importance. This has enabled it to engage in educational reform and achieve good results. In 1983 alone, the party committee of the university's political department carried out three projects to study its work in Marxist-Leninist education.
2. As demanded by operational needs, instructors who teach political theory classes have been allowed to read party documents that are one or two grades higher in classification than those for ordinary cadres. University leaders, after returning from meetings held by the Party Central Committee, always relate in a timely manner the messages to the directors of the teaching and research sections and all members of the faculty and urge them to remain vigilant in order to recognize the erroneous "leftist" and rightist ideological tendencies in our society and to offer analyses and criticisms so that students may be immune from these tendencies.
3. Marxism-Leninism classes and sessions reserved for the self-study of Marxism-Leninism may not be interfered with by any department or individual of the university. Presently it takes a student 6 years to graduate. Hours of classes in political theories are distributed as follows: 220 class hours of modern history and the history of the Chinese Communist Party, 140 hours of political economics, 220 hours of philosophy and the dialectics of nature, 24 hours of medical ethics and 120 hours of education in current events and policies. The number of hours of political theory classes is 724, which accounts for 15 percent of the total number of class hours. In addition, there are 562 class hours of self-study.
4. In order to achieve better results, the university has decided to decentralize more and centralize less in designing its curriculum. Greater decentralization refers to the even distribution of classes in Marxism-Leninism throughout the 6 years. This enables the students to be constantly exposed to Marxism-Leninism. Less centralization refers to dividing each course into several phases and offering intensive instruction during each phase.

I think we should pay special attention to the fact that the party committee of the 4th Military District's university has, in its ideological and political undertakings, emphasized Marxism-Leninism and has been especially supportive and helpful regarding the work conducted by instructors of political theories. We hope that the propaganda and educational departments of party committees in various locales and the party and political leaders of various schools will take note of, and model themselves after, the university's approach and experience. Of course, schools in various locales may encounter circumstances different from one another. They do not

necessarily have to copy exactly the university's approach. However, the emphasis on Marxist-Leninist education and the treatment given to instructors of political theories by the university's party committee are worthy of our attention.

The next suggestion I would like to offer concerns the teaching of Marxism-Leninism in institutions of higher learning. Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, political theory instructors in institutions of higher learning have worked extremely hard and have achieved impressive results. If we can remember where our students stood ideologically a few years ago, it still cannot be said that ideological confusion has disappeared completely from among our students. but significant progress has been made and the few troublemakers are not getting any support. Moreover, in recent years, communism has been glorified by a group of heroic individuals such as Zhang Hua [1728 5478] who risked his own life rescuing people from drowning. Heroic acts such as these are being carried out constantly. It was students who initiated the slogan "rebuild China." It took but a few years for this ideological change to take place among students. Of course, the students' progress in political ideological can be attributed to the leadership of the party and the work conducted on every front and in every sector; it is not the result of the work of political theory instructors alone. However, they should be given some credit for it. This is something we totally approve of. Affirmation of the role played by political theory instructors is the first step toward improving instruction in theory.

On the other hand, we should recognize the fact that there are still problems that await resolution, and thorough resolution. The most important of these problems concerns the integration of theory and reality. The teaching of theories must be integrated with reality--the reality of current world events, of China's socialist construction and of the students' ideology. The theory and principles of Marxism-Leninism should be taught only within the framework of these realities; we should aim at explaining and solving real problems. Political theory instructors in many schools have been working along this line; however, there are also many who have not done so, or have even avoided the issue for fear of undertaking such an integration. Yesterday Comrade Hu Qili brought up the issue that had been raised by Chairman Mao in "Restructure Our Learning." Economics teachers in the past could not explain the difference between the border-region currency and the paper currency issued by the KMT government from 1935 onward. And since the teachers could not explain it, the students naturally could not be expected to know it. Are today's economics teachers willing and able to define special zones, the production responsibility system, specialty households and specialty contracting, and give the reasons for implementing these measures? Did we not say that we wanted to realize a socialist construction that is uniquely Chinese? The above-mentioned measures are uniquely Chinese. Comrade Qiaomu has suggested that we add one more course to our education in theory to delineate some of the fundamental issues related to socialist construction. He may have made the proposal for the same reason. We have to make sure that Marxist-Leninist education in our institutions of higher learning does not deteriorate into one where the reasons for implementing more responsive economic policies, the economic

management system and other reforms cannot be delineated even though dialectal materialism, historical materialism, political economics and scientific socialism have all been taught. It would be analogous to not having been able to understand the difference between the border-region currency and the paper currency issued by the KMT while living in border regions surrounded by the KMT. For example, I was like that in those days. I was an insignificant teacher not interested in the "theory of capitalism" and unwilling and unable to talk about the border-region currency and the paper currency issued by the KMT government. I never devoted any time to studying the difference between the two. Will the same mistake be made by today's institutions of higher learning in carrying out Marxist-Leninist education? Will history repeat itself? We had better not let it. We had better not make the same kind of dogmatic mistake again.

Of course, this does not mean that our Marxist-Leninist education should involve resolving these problems one by one and become question-and-answer sessions. Marxism is a science; the materialist conception of history and surplus value theory form a well-thought-out scientific system on which scientific socialism is based. The teaching of theories aims at forming a communist world view among students. A scientific communist world view is to be taught primarily through the Marxist perspective and theories. But how can students have confidence in the credibility of the theories we teach if we disregard realities and keep on saying that the plight of workers in capitalist countries deteriorates as the days go by. Would this be in keeping with the realities? This is why I contend that even the teaching of basic principles should be integrated with current world events, the circumstances in China and reality. In the meantime, we should not be intimidated by questions from students or be afraid to argue with them. I myself used to be this kind of student. My political economics teacher was an aging Marxist economist for whom I had a lot of respect. When I disagreed with him on something, I would stand up and say, "I do not agree with your view on this." He was a senior comrade able to exercise self-control. He would say, "Very well, let's hear your view." Whenever I look back on it, I regret having confronted him. I was too young, rude and immature. Now that I myself am a theory teacher, I should not be intimidated by challenges from students. I should be like that respectable economist, not afraid of reasoning with students. Students cannot be completely convinced by, and feel heartfelt admiration for, teachers unless their doubts and questions are answered through discussions. I do not think we should underestimate the importance of having students "completely convinced." Complete conviction in Marxism is what drives people to dedicate themselves to the cause of communism. This is what is meant by saying that once a certain theory is entrenched among the masses, it forms an enormous material force.

Our political theory instructors must recognize that we are carrying out a socialist construction that is uniquely Chinese. The open-door policies have enabled students to witness the conditions in capitalist countries. As we make the domestic economy more responsive by implementing a series of reforms, the changes in circumstances and other problems that arise as a result are bound to generate many concerns among students. It is only

natural, and necessary, for them to raise questions have doubts and demand answers. We cannot avoid them. It is encouraging that they are doing so; it indicates that they are willing to think, to explore issues and to seek truth. It is my belief that theory instructors should work courageously side by side with students, go over issues with them in an earnest manner and try to answer their questions. If we are unable to provide answers, we should engage in self-improvement. Self-improvement and personal betterment involve more extensive reading and research and discussions with others in order to upgrade one's performance and enhance one's understanding of theories. Isn't there a saying that "teaching benefits both teachers and students"? Teaching involves, on the one hand, answering questions from students and, on the other, broadening one's own understanding of theory. Of course, we should also encourage self-study among students so that they may conduct discussions and debates among themselves, and try answering their own questions with guidance from their teachers.

Teaching that is realistically integrated with students' needs is in itself ideological and political work geared toward students. We should try influencing and convincing them through theories that are integrated with realities so that they will undergo an ideological transformation. The standard by which we measure the effectiveness of our education in political theory is whether students have undergone ideological transformation.

I would like to discuss another issue--one concerning who our political theory instructors should be. It is my view that these are people with dual capacities: on the one hand, they are teachers and scientific research personnel; on the other, they carry out ideological and political work. Actually, ideological and political work comes before their other duties. The political theory instructors' primary mission is to transform the students' political ideology, formulate a revolutionary communist world outlook among students and train a group of young Marxists. The primary purpose of the teachers' scientific research activities is to prepare them for the questions raised by students so that they can enhance, while solving problems for students, their own understanding of academic theories. I do not know if my view on this issue is accurate; if so, we should then treat theory instructors as people engaging in ideological and political work. We should initiate rules and regulations and a system of rewards and punishments in order to give them a stronger incentive to concentrate on the students' ideology and to work side by side with students. If our rules and system discourage them from doing so, or even lead them to be alienated from students, they would then confine themselves to home and refuse to be with their students outside of class. These kinds of rules and systems obstruct our ideological and political undertakings and should be rectified. We ask our theory teachers to work side by side with students in order to transform them ideologically, and yet we do not take into account the efforts they have made in this area when we evaluate their performances and applications for promotion. Instead, we try to figure out how many essays and articles they have written, or even say that their writings that have been published in the PEOPLE'S DAILY are of an editorial nature, can not be regarded as scientific works and therefore can not be considered instrumental in promotions or the granting of titles. How can this be in keeping with the

mission we have given our theory instructors or with the policy of strengthening the students' political ideology? Some of our theory instructors have produced but few papers; some do not have even a single publication. However, they have engaged persistently in the transformation of the students' ideology, formulated among numerous students the communist world view and produced a large number of young Marxists. What kind of titles should they be given? What should be the standards by which we evaluate their performances? Some comrades have suggested that those who have been theory instructors for more than 30 years and have performed well in transforming the students' political ideology should be praised publicly. I am all for it. In view of the fact that problems regarding titles and salaries still await resolution, we should at least give these teachers some kind of spiritual consolation by honoring them.

The improvement of the teaching of theory also involves the restructuring of curricula and of teaching methods. I will not enlarge upon them because they have already been included in the draft.

Finally, I would like to stress the importance of having the propaganda and education departments of the party committees in various locales and the party political leaders of various schools assist theory instructors in improving Marxist-Leninist education and integrating theory with reality. Some of the difficulties theory instructors encounter in this area are insurmountable. I have heard that some schools do not even have the financial ability to subscribe to a newspaper for their theory instructors. In some locales, students who have read "The Third Wave" and "The Trend" are posing a lot of questions to their teachers, who have not read, or can not even get hold of, these books. How then can they be expected to come up with answers to questions from students? This is why I hope that party and political leadership departments will be concerned with the theory instructors' political life and professional competence by solving problems regarding reading materials and reports. New resolutions by the Party Central Committee should be passed on to instructors in a timely fashion in order to strengthen leadership. Are not theory instructors expected to be in keeping politically with the Party Central Committee? Then they should be well informed. Leaders of the 4th Military District's university never fail to pass on the Party Central Committee's messages in a timely fashion. According to realistic needs, plans are made for instructors to read documents and listen to reports. The university offers total material support for Marxism-Leninism research sections by appropriating approximately 10,000 yuan a year for the purchase of books and periodicals. Newspapers and magazines to which students are allowed access are all available in the university's research sections. I think these measures are very commendable.

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CSO: 4005/192

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

XINHUA ON NEW PUBLICATIONS DUE OUT IN 1985

OW210826 Beijing XINHUA in English 0649 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Text] Beijing, 21 Dec (XINHUA)--More than 3,500 newspapers and periodicals will be published in China in 1985, 400 more than this year, according to the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications here.

Many of the new publications will be on special interest periodicals covering fields including commerce, chemicals, electronics and transports. Others are digests of articles from newspapers and magazines.

At present, every four Chinese subscribes to a newspaper or magazine regularly. Publications distributed by the postal service have a total circulation of 240 million copies per issue.

The country's major national newspapers including the PEOPLE'S DAILY, GUANG-MING DAILY, LIBERATION ARMY DAILY, WORKERS' DAILY and CHINA YOUTH NEWS all put out from about one million to several million copies a day.

Also published are 40 newspapers in the languages of 12 minority ethnic groups including Mongolian, Tibetan, Uygur, Kazak and Korean.

CSO: 4000/064

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

HU YAOBANG PREPARES MASTHEAD--JIAOSHI BAO [TEACHERS NEWS], the first newspaper geared to the needs of the large number of school teachers in China, will be inaugurated next January. Comrade Hu Yaobang wrote the masthead for the newspaper. JIAOSHI BAO will tentatively be a quarter weekly. It will give timely reports on educational news and reform at home and abroad, introduce and exchange educational theories of all times and all countries, and reflect the teachers' life and demands. [Text] [Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 24 Dec 84 OW]

PENG ZHEN PREPARES TITLE--NPC Standing Committee Chairman Peng Zhen recently wrote the masthead title for the LINFEN RIBAO. On the morning of 26 December, the office of the newspaper held a forum to celebrate this event. Wang Kewen, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC Committee, and other leading comrades, together with 20 media units including XHANXI RIBAO, SHANXI NONGMIN BAO, Shanxi People's Publishing House, SHANXI QINGNIAN, and TAIYUAN RIBAO sent cables and messages of congratulations. [Text] [Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 27 Dec 84 HK]

CSO: 4005/277

EAST REGION

YU YAOBANG REVISITS JIANGXI 'YOUTH TOWN'

OW221730 Beijing XINHUA in English 1639 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Text] Beijing, 22 Dec (XINHUA)--Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, recently revisited the Communist youth town in east China's Jiangxi Province, and wrote an inscription for the town: "Where there's a will there's a way."

Hu's previous visit to the town took place in the winter of 1955 in his capacity as first secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League (CYL).

Covering an area of 17 square meters, the site of the town was originally a piece of wasteland. About 29 years ago a group of 98 members of the CYL from Shanghai organized a reclamation team.

Through the meritorious hard work of the reclamation team in the past 29 years, a modern and beautiful town has been built on the wasteland. The town now has a population of 8,200, with fairly well developed industry and agriculture. Some of its products sell well both at home and abroad.

During his chats with residents, Hu inquired about their wages and living conditions. He was told that the monthly wage averages 80 yuan, a comparatively high level.

Hu also had a group photo taken with 17 veteran members of the reclamation team. Other members of the team have taken up leading posts elsewhere over the years.

Hu's visit to the communist youth town was made during his tour of Hubei and Jiangxi Provinces between 4 and 14 December. He covered 15 counties and four cities.

CSO: 4000/069

EAST REGION

WANG FANG SPEAKS AT SOCIAL SCIENCES MEETING

OW222344 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Text] A 4-day inaugural meeting of the [Zhejiang] Provincial Federation of Associations of Social Sciences closed on the afternoon of 21 December in Hangzhou. A ceremony to award outstanding research results in provincial social sciences and to commend outstanding groups of workers in the social sciences society was simultaneously held with the closing ceremony, at which certificates, monetary awards, and prizes were awarded.

Wang Fang, Luo Dong, (Liu Yifu), Shang Jingchai, and others attended the closing ceremony and the prize-awarding ceremony. Comrade Wang Fang spoke at the meeting.

He said: The reform has thrust a very important task upon the social sciences. Social sciences workers should seriously study the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on reform of the economic structure, stand at the forefront of reform, emancipate their minds, go deep into the realities of life, conduct investigation and study, and serve the reform. When studying the situation and experience in the province and the country, one should also, at the same time, study all advanced experience in the world that reflects the common law of large-scale socialized production in order to provide examples for reform.

Comrade Wang Fang emphatically pointed out: We must strategically view the role of the social sciences. Party committees at various levels should surely strengthen leadership over the socialist sciences and fully play the role of assistant and consultant to the social science circle.

The inaugural meeting of the provincial federation of social sciences elected its first Board of Directors and standing body. (Liu Yifu) was elected as honorary president; (Shen Nianzhi) and (Wang Chenxu) as advisors; and (Zhang Zhenhuang) as president.

CSO: 4005/278

EAST REGION

JIANGSU'S HAN PEIXIN CHAIRS PARTY COMMITTEE SESSION

OW221124 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 20 Dec 84

[Text] The 7th Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee held its first plenary session in Nanjing yesterday [20 December]. Through secret balloting, members attending the session elected the members, secretary and deputy secretaries of the standing committee.

The plenary session unanimously approved the namelist of chairman, vice chairman, and members of the standing committee of the provincial advisory commission; and unanimously approved the namelist of the secretary, deputy secretaries, and members of the standing committee of the provincial discipline inspection commission.

Comrade Han Peixin chaired, and addressed, the first plenary session of the 7th Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee. Fifty-six of the 61 members, and 12 of the 14 alternate members, of the provincial party committee were present at the session.

All the members of the provincial advisory commission and the provincial discipline inspection commission attended the session as observers.

CSO: 4005/278

EAST REGION

WANG FANG ATTENDS FORUM ON PARTY RECTIFICATION

OW251914 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 24 Dec 84

[Excerpts] In the past three months and more, various organizations in Zhejiang and prefectural party committees have aroused party members to study documents on party rectification and to thoroughly negate the Cultural Revolution, and have scored achievements in straightening the guiding ideology in doing their work. In thoroughly negating the Cultural Revolution, various city and prefectural party committees have refuted its role ideologically and theoretically, and negated the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have also helped comrades to dispel the misunderstanding left over from the days of the Cultural Revolution, and strengthened the party spirit.

Recently, the provincial CPC Committee held a party rectification forum for city and prefectural organs to sum up their work in the past and to do a still better job in carrying out party rectification.

Attending the forum were comrades from the Zhejiang liaison group of the Commission for Guiding Party Rectification of the CPC Central Committee Secretary Wang Fang, and Deputy Secretary Chen Fawen of the Zhejiang Provincial CPC Committee.

CSO: 4005/278

EAST REGION

WANG FANG, CHEN FAWEN ATTEND ZHEJIANG FORUM

OW251927 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 24 Dec 84

[Text] The forum for policy implementation six provinces and one city of East China ended this afternoon in Hangzhou. This forum was sponsored by the National CPPCC Committee and the investigation group on the implementation of policy under the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee. Attending the forum were responsible persons of the various CPPCC committees and of the various united front work departments in six provinces and one city of East China.

The forum held: Various localities have scored achievements in implementing policy. However, the progress made in this respect remains unbalanced. There are still many problems, particularly in the return of properties confiscated and the private houses seized during the Cultural Revolution. In order to solve these problems, we must continue to eliminate the influence of "leftist" ideas and further realize the significance in implementing policy. We must pay full attention to implementing policy and do our work meticulously.

Yang Fangzhi, Standing Committee member of the National CPPCC Committee and head of the investigation group on the implementation of policy in East China; Li Gui, deputy head of the United Front work departments of the CPC Central Committee; and Zhang Chukun, member of the national CPPCC Committee and deputy head of the aforementioned investigation group, attended the forum. Secretary Wang Fang and Deputy Secretary Chen Fawen of the Zhejiang Provincial CPC Committee, met with the comrades attending the forum.

CSO: 4005/278

EAST REGION

ANHUI'S HUANG HUANG ATTENDS TEA PARTY

OW270010 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Dec 84

[Text] On the evening of 25 December, the Anhui Provincial Military District held a tea party at the Headquarters Auditorium. Cordially invited to attend were prefectural, city, and county party committee secretaries, who were also serving as first political commissars of the various military subdistricts, and city and county people's armed force departments.

Zhang Linyuan, party committee secretary and political commissar of the provincial military district, made a warm speech greeting the New Year.

He said: Throughout the year 1984, the provincial military district has achieved relatively good results in unit building and militia work. The achievements are directly attributable to the hard work and untiring efforts of the various first political commissars. On behalf of the party committee and all commanders and fighters of the provincial military district, he wished to extend a New Year's greeting to all the first political commissars.

Jiu Dehe, commander of the provincial military district, also spoke. After briefing everyone on the new situation emerging in the province's armed force units since this year's meeting of first political commissars, he urged everyone to continue the good work and make even greater achievements in the New Year.

Comrade Huang Huang, secretary of the provincial CPC Committee and first political commissar of the provincial military district, attended the party and wished all the first political commissars a Happy New Year.

From the beginning to the end, the party was filled with a happy holiday atmosphere.

Other leading comrades of the provincial military district attending the party were (Li Tingzhang), Guo Shengkun, Xiong Yukun, and (Xie Riyang).

At the end of the party, a film was shown.

CSO: 4005/278

EAST REGION

ANHUI LEADERS ATTEND CPC CONGRESS OPENING

OW241335 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Excerpts] The Fourth Anhui Provincial CPC Congress ceremoniously opened in Hefei on 22 December morning. The opening ceremony was held at the Jianghuai theater.

Seated in the front row on the rostrum were the executive chairmen of the congress. They were Huang Huang, Yang Haibo, Wang Yuzhao, Li Shinong, Yang Weiping, Huang Yan, Zhang Kaifan, Su Yu, Huang Yu, (Guo Qixiang), (Zhao Ming), Sun Zongrong, Meng Jiaqin, (Chen Shudong), (Zhou Zuchang), and (Li Shengying).

Comrade Yang Haibo presided over the opening ceremony. Yang Haibo announced:

[Begin recording] Now we ask Comrade Wang Yuzhao to deliver an opening speech.
[applause] [end recording]

Comrade Wang Yuzhao said:

[Begin recording] This congress is held to implement the strategic policy decisions of the party Central Committee, set Anhui's work objectives and measures for the period from now to the end of the century, arrange the province's economic structural reform tasks, accelerate socialist modernization, and build Anhui into a province with comparatively developed economy.
[end recording]

In conclusion, Comrade Wang Yuzhao said:

[Begin recording] Comrades, the broad masses of Communist Party members and people in the province place earnest hopes on this congress. We must display democracy, pool the wisdom of all, concentrate our attention on conducting the congress well, successfully complete all planned tasks, and truly turn the congress into a meeting of unity and reform, a meeting to inspire enthusiasm and bring about an economic takeoff in Anhui. [applause] [end recording]

After Comrade Wang Yuzhao delivered the opening speech, Comrade Huang Huang, entrusted by the Anhui Provincial CPC Committee, made a work report to the congress.

EAST REGION

ANHUI UNIONS REPORT INCREASE IN ADULT EDUCATION

OW260810 Beijing XINHUA in English 0749 GMT 26 Dec 84

[Text] Hefei, 26 Dec (XINHUA)--The number of workers in Anhui Province taking adult education courses has rocketed from 90,000 in 1983 to half a million this year, according to local trade unions.

They are studying social sciences, Natural sciences, philosophy and languages in various educational groups.

Anhui's main endeavor is agriculture. The province has about 3,800,000 workers, many of whom have improved their skills through extensive reading.

Li Quoqiang, who works in a factory in Wuhu, won an honor for good marks at this year's national quiz, in which more than eight million workers throughout the country participated.

He said he would apply for postgraduate study after he finished his TV courses.

Wei Fuqiang, a car driver in Huainan, is now versed in Esperanto after taking a two-year course. The poems and fables he has written in esperanto have been published in Spain.

CSO: 4000/069

EAST REGION

HUANG HUANG REVIEWS ANHUI'S WORK IN LAST 7 YEARS

OW271131 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Excerpts] Comrade Huang Huang stated in his work report to the Fourth Anhui Provincial CPC Congress that the current political and economic situation in the province is very fine, and now is one of the best periods in the history of Anhui.

Comrade Huang Huang pointed out the following seven things in highlighting the achievements that the province has made in various areas of work during the past 7 years since the CPC Central Committee solved the question of the leadership of the Anhui Provincial CPC Committee in June 1977:

1. A great victory has been achieved in the struggle of exposure, criticism, and investigation;
2. Remarkable results have been achieved in redressing the cases in which people were wronged, misjudged, or framed on false charges and in implementing the policy in this regard;
3. Attention has been paid to production as the central task, and an agricultural production responsibility system has been instituted throughout the province;
4. Ideological work has been strengthened;
5. Considerable progress has been made in building leading bodies at all levels;
6. Overall rectification of the party has been carried out to improve party style and enforce party discipline; and
7. A struggle to strike hard at serious crimes, including economic crimes, has been developing in depth.

After reviewing the fighting course traversed during the last 7 years, Comrade Huang Huang summed up four basic experiences in his work report:

1. Resolute efforts have been made to implement the series of principles and policies formulated by the CPC Central Committee. The 3d Plenary Session of

the 11th CPC Central Committee reaffirmed the Marxist ideological, political, and organizational lines, pointing out the direction that we should follow in order to make advance. In past years, the CPC Central Committee gave a number of important instructions on the work of Anhui. Leading comrades at the central level, including Hu Yaobang, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, and Hu Qili, came to Anhui on inspection tours and showed concern for the various aspects of work in the province. This contributed significantly to the successful development of the situation in the province. In doing their practical work, the party committees at the provincial and all other levels resolutely implemented the CPC Central Committee's principles and policies and acted in accordance with its instructions. They maintained a high degree of ideological and political unity with the CPC Central Committee. As a result, they achieved very effective results in many areas of work.

2. Economic construction has been taken as a main task. The Anhui Provincial CPC Committee made unswerving efforts to implement the principle of grasping production as the central task and speed up the pace in economic construction after the question of its leadership had been solved by the CPC Central Committee. Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, further efforts were made to shift the focus of party work to economic construction. All-out efforts were exerted to develop the economy by seriously implementing the principle of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation, and improvement and the policy of invigorating the domestic economy and opening to the outside world. After the new leading body of the provincial CPC Committee had been established, it continued to grasp economic work with emphasis on solving the various problems in this regard. The efforts made by the party committees at the provincial and all other levels to strengthen the leadership over economic work and to formulate economic policies and measures have resulted in the continued development of the economic construction in the province.

3. The ideological line of seeking truth from facts has been adhered to. Our party's ideological line is to proceed from reality in doing everything, integrating theory with practice, seeking truth from facts, and verifying and developing truth in the course of practice. On the basis of this ideological line, the provincial CPC Committee has made ceaseless efforts to sum up historical experience, investigate and study the practical situation, solve the new problems encountered in its work, and eliminate the left influence. It has thus developed the excellent situation.

4. Persistent efforts have been made to implement the principle of stability and unity. The principle of stability and unity is our country's fundamental tenet to achieve success in managing the state affairs and ensuring security on a long-term basis. A great many facts have proved that unity means strength. In fact, the achievements that our province has made in various areas of work are the victorious results of the united work done by party members, cadres, and masses in the whole province.

CSO: 4005/278

EAST REGION

NANJING FORUM STUDIES USE OF TALENTED PEOPLE

OW240600 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Dec 84

[Excerpts] A conference on the flow of talented persons in the Nanjing area, Jiangsu Province, ceremoniously opened at the Nanjing Military Region Soldiers' Club this morning.

Jiangsu Governor Gu Xiulian and Nanjing Mayor Zhang Yaohua cut the ribbon at the opening of the conference, and Vice Governor Yang Yongyi delivered an opening speech.

This conference, convened with the approval of the Jiangsu Provincial and Nanjing City People's Governments, represents a breakthrough in the reform of the personnel system. The contingent of specialized personnel in our province falls far short of the requirements of rapidly developing economic construction. Not only is there a rather serious shortage in this regard, but the use, distribution, and structure of such personnel are not quite rational. This has caused the failure to bring the intelligence and wisdom of scientists and technicians into full play, has affected the implementation of the party's policy toward intellectuals, and has hindered the development of economic construction. It is therefore necessary to permit the flow of talented persons, which accords with the urgent desire of scientists and technicians.

In his opening speech, Comrade Yang Yongyi pointed out: Outmoded conventions and old customs whereby units and departments regard talented personnel as their own property have not yet been basically eliminated. As a result, the rational flow of talented personnel is still seriously restricted. We must act according to the principle of respecting knowledge and talented persons and institute systems to ensure the rational use and flow of such persons.

Attending the conference were more than 3,000 persons, including responsible comrades of relevant provincial departments and various cities, specialized personnel, and representatives from Shanghai and other fraternal provinces and municipalities.

CSO: 4005/278

EAST REGION

FUJIAN DELEGATION DEPARTS U.S. FOR SINGAPORE

OW231918 Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Dec 84 p 1

[Excerpt] A Fujian Provincial Government delegation led by governor Hu Ping left Los Angeles in the United States on 9 December local time (10 December Beijing time) for Hong Kong en route to Singapore.

Governor Hu Ping and the delegation are on a study tour of Singapore at the invitation of its international Trade Company, Ltd.

The purposes of Governor Hu Ping's visit are to enhance the friendship between Fujian and Singapore, explore the possibility of bilateral economic cooperation, and study Singapore's experience in economic, urban, and harbor construction.

Members of the delegation include the provincial Capital Construction Commission Chairman Qiu Jianping, deputy secretary general of the provincial government Zhuang Nanfang, General Manager of the Huaifu Company Chen Binfan, and Xiamen City Mayor Zou Erjun.

During their visit to Los Angeles, Governor Hu Ping and the delegation were feted by the Los Angeles branch of the All-ULSL Association of Overseas Chinese and the Association of Natives of Fujian in Southern California.

CSO: 4005/278

EAST REGION

ZHEJIANG DISCIPLINE INSPECTION MEETING ENDS

OW241231 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 20 Dec 84

[Text] The third plenary session of the Zhejiang Provincial Discipline Inspection Committee, which lasted for 3 days, ended today.

During the meeting, Chen Zuolin, secretary of the committee, conveyed to the participants the guidelines of the fourth plenary session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection and made a speech on how the province's discipline inspection work can focus on economic construction.

He said: We must firmly safeguard all reform measures that benefit the country and the people, actively protect the cadres and masses who are keen on reform, and enthusiastically support leading bodies that make bold innovations and persistently blaze new trails. At the same time, we must keep a cool head in order to investigate and sternly deal with the evil practices of unscrupulously taking advantage of the policy of opening to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy to seek personal gains, damaging the interests of the state and the collective. We should dare to criticize unhealthy things and wrong tendencies that emerge during the reform, and do more work in education and persuasion. We should also step up investigation and study. We should not make hasty decisions on questions which we are not sure of at the moment, nor deal with them rashly. Still less should we confuse slipups made in the course of making progress with evil practices and law and discipline violations.

The meeting examined and adopted the report submitted by the provincial discipline inspection committee on improving party work style and discipline and ensuring smooth progress in the province's economic structural reform.

CSO: 4005/278

EAST REGION

JIANGSU LEADERS MEET NPC INSPECTION GROUP

OW241225 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Excerpts] After completing its inspection tasks in Wuxi and Changzhou Cities from 17 to 21 December, the 19-member Jiangsu inspection group of the NCP Standing Committee, headed by (Tian Ming) and (Qiu Weifong), arrived in Nanjing on the afternoon of 21 December.

Responsible comrades of the provincial party committee, the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, and of Nanjing city, including Han Peixin, Gu Xiulian, Sun Han, Chu Jiang, Kuang Yaming, Wang Bingshi, Hong Peilin, Chen Huanyou, Xu Zhi, and Zhang Yaohua went to (Jinling) hotel to meet and call on all the comrades of the inspection group. He Binghao, vice chairman of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, who accompanied the inspection group on its tour, arrived in Nanjing at the same time on 21 December.

While in Wuxi County, the members listened with great interest to a report by a responsible person of the county government on the situation in the development of village and town enterprises, particularly the investment of intellectual resources. Being outstanding in the country, the county's village and town enterprises are now urgently in need of talented personnel, and many have already arrived to serve these enterprises.

Recently, RENMIN RIBAO carried an advertisement on Wuxi County's recruitment of talented personnel, and more than 16,000 people registered for Wuxi's village and town enterprises. Because of the common need for such personnel by various localities, only 618 were finally assigned to Wuxi.

The leading comrade said: Our county's village and town enterprises have established the concept that talented personnel are tantamount to capital. They spend money to send people to study at universities, averaging 2,500 yuan for each person each year, in addition to giving them food subsidies. However, there is one condition, namely, that they return to the village and town enterprises after graduating from the universities and serve there for at least 10 years. Otherwise, all expenses should be borne by themselves.

The members said in praise: You have done a good job in the investment of intellectual resources, and you are farsighted.

While in Changzhou City, the members held a forum to solicit opinions concerning the formulation of the draft law on state-run industrial enterprises. Responsible persons of five plants spoke on the situation in the implementation of the plant directors' responsibility system at experimental sites. They maintained that the implementation of the plant directors' responsibility system is a requirement of large-scale socialized production, a requirement for solving the defects of existing enterprise leadership systems, a requirement for enlivening enterprises, raising economic results, and speeding modernization. They also offered many good opinions and suggestions. The members also carried out investigations and studies regarding the question of how to strengthen the party's leading role in enterprises.

After its arrival in Nanjing, the inspection group will inspect some plants and enterprises as well as the situation in Nanjing City's urban construction. It will also listen to reports by responsible comrades of the province and Nanjing City on the reform in the economic structure.

CSO: 4005/278

EAST REGION

XIAN NAN AT FUZHOU GUIDANCE PLANNING MEETING

OW262339 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 23 Dec 84

[Text] A discussion meeting on guidance planning in China opened in Fuzhou on 23 December. Based on the decisions of the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee and the principle of combining theory with practice, the meeting will study and discuss the following questions: how to formulate an effective macroscopic economic policy and achieve balance in implementing the policy under the new situation; what are the nature, characteristics, and scope of guidance planning; how to distinguish mandatory planning from market regulation; what changes will take place in state-enterprise relations after the implementation of guidance planning; and how to use the economic lever in the management of guidance planning.

More than 100 people are attending the discussion meeting, including Xue Muqiao, president of the China Planning Society and secretary general of the State Council's Planned Economic Research Center; Liu Suinian, vice minister of the State Planning Commission and deputy secretary general of the Planned Economic Research Center; (Wu Junyang), deputy secretary general of the Planned Economic Research Center; Xiang Nan and Cheng Xu, respectively first secretary and secretary of the Fujian provincial party committee; and Cai Ninglin. Experts and scholars from all over the country are also attending the meeting.

Xue Muqiao, Liu Suinian, and Xiang Nan addressed the opening ceremony.

CSO: 4005/278

EAST REGION

BRIEFS

JIANGSU CPC ADVISORY COMMISSION PLENUM--The Advisory Commission of the Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee held its first plenary session in Nanjing at 2100 [1200 GMT] yesterday [20 December]. Twenty-five members of the commission were present. Comrade Liu Lin chaired, and addressed, the session. The session elected the members, chairman, and vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the Advisory Commission of the Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee. [Text] [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 20 Dec 84 OW]

HONG KONG ENTERPRISES STAFF RECEIVED--The Linyi United Wool Corporation, Ltd.--the first province-Hongkong joint venture in inland Shandong Province--held a signing ceremony in Jinan on the afternoon of 21 December. Mr (Cao Guangbiao), chairman of the board of directors of the Novel Enterprises Ltd of Hongkong and a well-known figure on the industrial and commercial circles of Hongkong, made a special trip to the province to attend the signing ceremony. He arrived in Jinan on 20 December. At that very evening, Su Yiran, secretary of the provincial CPC Committee, received Mr (Cao) and his entourage. On the evening of 21 December, the provincial Governor Liang Buting gave a banquet to Mr (Cao), his entourage and the Japanese and Hong Kong traders who came to the province for congratulation. [Excerpts] [Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 21 Dec 84 SK]

JIANGSU DISCIPLINE INSPECTION COMMISSION--The Discipline Inspection Commission of the Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee held its first plenary session in Nanjing at 2100 [1200 GMT] yesterday [20 December]. Thirty-nine members of the commission were present. Comrade Xing Bai chaired the session. The session elected the members, secretary, and deputy secretaries of the Standing Committee of the Discipline Inspection Commission of the Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee. [Text] [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 20 Dec 84 OW]

ANHUI'S HUANG PRESIDES OVER MEETING--The Presidium of the Fourth Anhui Provincial CPC Congress held its Fourth meeting at 4 pm [GMT] today. Comrade Huang Huang presided over the meeting. In the light of discussions by the various delegations, the meeting discussed, and decided on, the namelights of preliminary elections for members and alternate members of the Fourth Anhui Provincial CPC Committee, the members of the provincial advisory committee, and the members of the provincial discipline inspection committee. [Text] [Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Dec 84 OW]

HUANG HUANG CHAIRS MEETING--The Presidium of the Fourth Anhui Provincial CPC Congress held its 2d session this afternoon under the chairmanship of Comrade Huang Huang. During the meeting, Comrade Lu Rongjing explained the principles of the provincial party committee and its Advisory and Discipline Inspection Commissions regarding the placement of personnel. After thorough discussion, the meeting approved the namelist of candidates for membership or alternate membership of the Fourth Anhui Provincial CPC Committee, and membership of its Advisory and Discipline Inspection Commissions. The namelist was submitted by the Standing Committee of the Third Anhui Provincial CPC Committee. The meeting also decided that the namelist be discussed by all delegations attending the congress. [Text] [Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Dec 84 OW]

CSO: 4005/278

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

YANG JINGREN, LIU JIE AT CPPCC WORK MEETING

HK220253 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Excerpt] The first Henan provincial conference on CPPCC work opened in Zhengzhou on 21 December. Present were Yang Jingren, vice chairman of the CPPCC and director of the United Front Department of the CPC Central Committee; Liu Jie, secretary of the Henan Provincial CPC Committee; and He Zhukang, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee. Provincial CPPCC Vice Chairman Hao Fuhong presided. Chairman Wang Huayun delivered the opening speech. Also present were leaders of the party, government, and army in the province Zhao Wenfu, Yao Xia, Li Baoguang, (Zhang Baiyan), Ye Renshou, Zuo Mingsheng, and (Eing Zhenyu).

Yang Jingren extended greetings to the meeting on behalf of the CPPCC and the Central Committee United Front Department, and wished it complete success. He said: Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, Henan's united front work has achieved very great success under the leadership of the provincial CPC committee, and an unprecedentedly fine situation has emerged. In the new situation, we must pay all the more attention to united front work and bring into play the role of the united front.

He said: In currently doing a good job of united front and CPPCC work, it is necessary to continue to eliminate leftist ideology, break down old conventions, study new problems, explore new experiences, seriously implement the policies, and bring into full play [words indistinct].

It is necessary to work to develop a broad patriotic united front, with emphasis on the greatest possible breadth. We must do united front work in small towns and the rural areas. We must do a good job of work regarding compatriots of Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan, and bring into full play their patriotic fervor, wisdom, and talent. We must unite all that can be united and change negative factors into positive ones.

Provincial CPC Committee Deputy Secretary He Zhukang delivered a speech on strengthening CPPCC work in the provinces. He first affirmed the work achievements of the CPPCC in the province and put forward the following views on continuing to do a good job in this work:

1. Have a clear understanding of the situation, correct the guiding ideology for professional work, and actively serve the three great tasks, centered on economic construction.

2. Carry forward the fine traditions and work style of the party's united front work and mobilize all positive factors to make new contributions to the four modernizations drive.

3. Seriously implement the party's united front policies and take full advantage of the talented people in the CPPCC in putting forward schemes for invigorating Henan.

4. Strengthen party leadership over CPPCC work, solve practical problems in the work, and do a good job in building the CPPCC work force.

CSO: 4005/276

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HAINAN PLA CPC HOLDS MOBILIZATION RALLY ON PARTY RECTIFICATION

HK220758 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Text] The morning the day before yesterday, the Hainan Military District held a mobilization rally of its CPC Committee and the party organizations of its organs on party rectification. Wang Xing, secretary of the Military District CPC Committee, made a report on mobilization to carry out party rectification to the party members in the Headquarters, the Political Department, and the organs of the Logistics Department.

In accordance with the spirit of the instructions of the Central Military Commission and with the arrangements of the Guangzhou Military Region CPC Committee, the Hainan Military District CPC Committee and the party organizations of the organs have carried out party rectification. Prior to the mobilization to carry out party rectification, the military district CPC committee had set up a party rectification office to investigate the situation of party members of the units which have carried out party rectification, to formulate the program for party rectification, to collect and compile the important documents on and experiences in party rectification during the first stage, and to print and distribute them to the units which have carried out party rectification for study and reference. The office has made full preparations for party rectification work.

At the mobilization rally on party rectification, Comrade Wang Xing expounded on the great significance of party rectification and clearly pointed out the tasks, basic principles, basic policies, and basic method of party rectification. He emphasized: To do well in party rectification in the military district CPC Committee and the party organizations of the organs, all party members must study hard the documents on party rectification, particularly the decision of the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee and the spirit of the forum of the Military Commission, must unify thinking and understanding, and in connection with realities, must penetratingly conduct education in totally negating the Cultural Revolution so as to discard leftist methods. It is necessary to persist in seeking truth from facts, not to pay lip service, and to solve problems in a down-to-earth manner. It is imperative to persist in simultaneous rectification and correction of defects and to use the practical achievements in rectification and correction to constantly heighten the masses' confidence and enthusiasm both inside and outside the party. Leaders must persistently take the lead and carry out party rectification from top to bottom so as to give play to the demonstrative role of leading comrades who are party members and the supervisory role of the masses who are party members. We must accomplish all tasks of party rectification well.

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HUBEI DISCIPLINE INSPECTION COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENARY MEETING

HK240535 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Text] From 12 to 19 December the provincial Discipline Inspection Committee held its 2d enlarged plenary meeting in Wuhan.

The meeting stressed that we should do well in discipline inspection work, strictly enforce party discipline, promote a good turn for the better in party work style, and ensure that the economic structural reform is carried out smoothly.

The meeting held: Economic structural reform is an important task of the whole province. The party's discipline inspection work must serve and be subordinate to this important task.

The meeting pointed out: In order to obtain a deeper understanding and to ensure that reform is carried out smoothly, we must have a good party work style. Otherwise we shall be unable to do well in the reform. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out when inspecting the province that we should pay attention to grasping unhealthy tendencies in two areas--one is the tendency of arbitrarily hiking prices, and the other is the tendency of speculation among some cadres. Therefore, in reform we should further strengthen the party work style and party discipline. We must under no circumstances weaken or adopt a relaxed attitude toward strengthening party discipline. Taking a relaxed attitude toward the party spirit, party principles, and party discipline is out of the question.

The meeting clearly pointed out the focal point and major tasks of discipline inspection work in 1985. That is, we should continue to grasp this favorable opportunity when we carry out party rectification to seriously implement the guiding ideology in order to do well in discipline inspection work and when we carry out economic structural reform. We should further strengthen the party's discipline inspection work. On the basis that the province has taken a turn for the better in this year's party work style, we must strive to achieve a fundamental turn for the better in next year's party work style among units that carry out party rectification, as well as advanced units. We must also strive to achieve a remarkable turn for the better in next year's party work style among other units so as to ensure that we can smoothly carry out economic construction and economic structural reform. Therefore, we must seriously

assist the party committee to do well in party rectification, rectify the party work style, and enforce party discipline. We must resolutely rectify the malpractices of bureaucratism and taking advantage of office for personal gain, as well as the unhealthy tendencies of arbitrary hiking price and speculation among works of party and government organs, which occur in the course of reform. We must also grasp well the struggle serious economic crimes.

CSO: 4005/276

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

BRIEFS

HENAN LEADERS VISIT EXHIBITION--The provincial CYL Committee, the provincial economics committee, the provincial science and technology committee, the provincial science and technology association, and the provincial education department jointly held an exhibition on achievements scored by Henan youth in intellectual exploitation. The ribbon-cutting ceremony for the exhibition was held at the provincial museum this morning. Provincial Party, government, and army leaders Liu Jie, He Zhukang, Zhao Di, Zhan Jinwu, Yao Xia, Wang Huayun, and Li Baoguang attended the ceremony and visited the exhibition. [Excerpt]
[Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 23 Dec 84 HK]

CSO: 4005/276

SOUTHWEST REGION

PARTY MEMBERS URGED TO ADMIT, CORRECT MISTAKES

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Oct 84 p 4

/Article by Xu Shida /1776 6108 6671/: "Do Not Be a Communist Party Member 'Smeared With Paint'"/

/Text/ The ancients said: "No one is a saint; who can be without fault?" Rather than telling people that they should excuse their own mistakes, the saying expresses the hope that they will understand the following principle: "The mistakes a man of noble character makes is like the eclipse of the sun and the moon, seen by everyone, and its rectification is respected by everyone."

Nevertheless, among our party members, some people only learned that "no one is a saint; who can be without fault?," thereby minimizing their major mistakes, forgetting the minor ones and covering up the errors. Unable to face their own shortcomings and mistakes, they think of all means to excuse themselves and conceal them. Following an unhealthy trend, some people, for instance, wrangle for new and good houses. When the masses complain bitterly, they declare glibly: "It is the need of my work. Actually, I have not lived up to the standard permitted me!" By such whitewashing, the mistakes actually turn into "halos" for flaunting.

People of good sense will immediately see that, instead of "self-criticism," it is really lame argument. In regard to such people, Stalin once said: I know that some people in the party ranks dislike criticism, especially self-criticism. I think that they can be called party members 'smeared with paint'.... They have nothing in common with our party spirit and the Bolshevik spirit. ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 2 p 7).

Making mistakes is inevitable, and there are both objective and subjective reasons for it. When the two are compared, what produces the decisive effect are the subjective reasons. Thus, only by seeking the subjective reasons and summarizing the lessons of experience will it enable us to correct the mistakes and be Communist Party members in fact as well as in name. Those who cover up their mistakes and whitewash themselves will only damage the cause of the party and the people and finally injure themselves. Like rusted steel which cannot be painted until the rust is removed, if ideological "corrosion" is not promptly removed, but concealed with "paint," it will eventually "corrode" the whole mind. According to the proverb, "clumsy sincerity is better than ingenious concealment." A true communist soldier should be open and aboveboard and have the courage to flick off any dust on himself; he should never be a Communist Party "smeared with paint."

NORTH REGION

CHEN XITONG ADDRESSES NEW YEAR RECEPTION

HK271506 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Dec 84 p 2

[Report by reporter Ou Qinglin [2962 1987 2651]: "Beijing Mayor Welcomes Foreign Investment at New Year Reception for Chinese and Foreign Reporters"]

[Text] On the evening of 20 December, Chen Xitong, mayor of Beijing, gave a new year reception at Beijing Hotel for Chinese and foreign reporters in this city.

In his speech, Chen Xitong said that over the past year or so, by conscientiously implementing the CPC Central Committee's policy of opening to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy, Beijing has achieved new progress in the construction of both spiritual and material civilizations. Stability and unity in the political field have been strengthened and economic construction is advancing full steam ahead. It is expected that the total agricultural output value will reach 3.1 billion yuan, an increase of 16 percent over 1983, and the per capita income of the peasants will reach 582 yuan, a 12 percent increase. The total industrial output value of this city in 1984 will increase by 12 percent over 1983 and reach 28 billion yuan. Moreover, progress has also been achieved in the construction and management of the city.

Chen Xitong emphasized that the policy of opening to the outside world is our country's national policy and will not be changed for a long time to come. Beijing will continue to firmly implement this policy. Technical transformation must be carried out in tens of thousands of factories in Beijing, and many of our undertakings must be greatly developed. He said: I would like to take this opportunity to solemnly declare again that, under the principle of equality and mutual benefit, we welcome entrepreneurs from all countries to invest in Beijing or to engage in solely-run or joint venture business.

Chen Xitong also declared that, beginning 1 January next year, foreign reporters in Beijing will be allowed to directly get in touch with various departments, factories, mines, and enterprises in Beijing in order to gather materials for their reports. He sincerely hoped that foreign reporters and Beijing's press circles will offer their criticisms and suggestions on the work of this city. The municipal people's government will regard them as an encouragement for it to improve its work.

CSO: 4005/280

NORTH REGION

NI ZHIFU ATTENDS MEMORIAL MEETING FOR LOU NINGXIAN

SK220432 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Summary] The memorial meeting for Comrade Lou Ningxian, vice chairman of the Municipal CPPCC Committee, member of the party group, and vice president of the municipal social science federation, was held yesterday at the funeral parlor in Haikou Road.

Li Ruihuan, deputy secretary of the municipal CPC Committee and mayor, Wu Zhen, deputy secretary of the municipal CPC Committee and vice mayor, Zhang Huaishan, chairman of the municipal Advisory Committee, and responsible persons of the relevant departments attended the memorial meeting and sent wreaths.

Responsible persons of the municipal CPC Committee, the municipal People's Congress, the municipal government, the Municipal CPPCC Committee, various municipal departments, commissions, and bureaus, various democratic parties, the Federation of Industry and Commerce, the Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese, the Federation of Literary and Art Circles, and the relevant departments, as well as relatives and friends of Comrade Lou Ningxian, a total of some 300 persons, attended the memorial meeting.

The national CPPCC Committee, the organizational and united front departments of the CPC Central Committee, the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee, the municipal advisory commission, the municipal people's congress standing, the municipal government, the municipal CPPCC committee, the PLA units stationed in Tianjin, the Tianjin garrison district, the municipal discipline inspection commission, the relevant departments, commissions, and bureaus, various municipal democratic parties, the municipal Federation of Industry and Commerce, the Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese, the Federation of Literary and Art Circles, and various district and town governments also sent wreaths.

Pen Zhen, Ni Rongzhen, Bo Yibo, Yao Yilin, Hu Qili, and Huang Huoqing, and others sent wreaths. Ni Zhifu, Political Bureau member of the CPC Central Committee, and secretary of the municipal CPC committee, Chen Weida, deputy secretary of the Political and Legal Commission of the CPC Central Committee, Yan

Dakai, member of the Central Advisory Commission, Chen Bing, chairman of the municipal CPPCC Committee, and other leading comrades also sent wreaths.

The memorial meeting was officiated by Zhang Zaiwang, deputy secretary of the municipal CPC committee, and presided over by Wang Enhui, vice chairman of the municipal CPPCC Committee. Tan Shaowen, deputy secretary of the municipal CPC Committee, delivered a memorial speech.

CSO: 4005/280

NORTH REGION

LEADERS ADDRESS RETIRED CADRES CONGRESS

HK251542 Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Dec 84

[Report by reporter Zhang Yanjun [1728 1693 6511]: "Beijing Municipality Holds a Retired Cadres Congress"]

[Text] The Beijing Municipality Retired Cadres Congress held its opening ceremony at the Dadu Hotel on the afternoon of 15 December.

Comrade Chen Xitong presided over the congress and delivered the opening speech. Comrade Jin Jian gave a report entitled "Spend the rest of your life in peace, bring into play your remaining enthusiasm, and make new contributions to the four modernizations of the capital city." Duan Junyi and Li Ximing attended the ceremony and made speeches. Other leading comrades of the municipality attending the congress were Jiao Ruoyu, Zhao Pengfei, Jia Chunwang, Li Qiyang, Zhang Mingyi, Li Guang, Ma Yaoqi, and Sun Fuling.

The 540 delegates attending the congress represent a contingent of more than 17,600 retired cadres. Many veteran cadres of the municipality have actively responded to the call of the Central Committee and taken the lead in sending in their applications for retirement. By the end of October 1984, among those veteran cadres in the municipality, 442 were in positions at and above county or bureau level; 1,599 were cadres at and above the 14th grade, who enjoyed the treatment of cadres at bureau level; and 14,682 were section chiefs or below the section level. The lofty spirit of these veteran comrades who "attach more importance to the fate of the nation than to their own personal success" has won the praise of people of all circles.

"On behalf of the Municipal CPC Committee and Government, I extend congratulations to the congress and our respect and cordial regards to all the delegates attending the congress, and through you to all the retired veteran cadres of the whole municipality!" Comrade Chen Xitong's enthusiastic salute stirred warm applause from the comrades attending the congress. The leading comrades have highly appraised the contributions of the retired veteran cadres in taking the lead in realizing the cooperation between new and old cadres and their replacements, in their active participation in building socialist, spiritual and material civilizations, in actively solving problems and dispelling the worries of the masses, and in serving the people heart and soul.

They said that the people of the municipality will never forget the veteran cadres for their indelible historical merits and their new contributions made during the new period.

The leading comrades of the municipality have stressed that retired veteran cadres are a valuable treasure of the party and state, and an important political force and intelligent resource for the construction of the capital city; party committees at all levels must organize in diversified forms those veteran comrades, who are health enough to have it in their power to do some work, to bring into full play their roles, so that they may have more opportunities to make new contributions to the four modernizations of the capital city, based on their experience, specialities, interests, and health, by adopting the measure of combining internal and external activities on a voluntary basis, with the arrangement of the organizations. The leading comrade of the municipality pointed out: The whole party and society should show concern for retired veteran cadres, seek their advice modestly, earnestly listen to their views and suggestions on their work, and show enthusiastic concern for them in their life. The erroneous practice of showing meticulous care to cadres when they are on the job, but giving them the cold shoulder when they are retired must be criticized and halted.

At the congress, Comrade Duan Junyi said significantly that veteran comrades must support the new leading bodies with enthusiasm, they should hold younger comrades, who actually know more than we do, in high esteem. Regarding new leading bodies, first we should not interfere with their work and second we should support them, and do more work within our power. In readjusting the leading bodies and in structural reform, veteran comrades should do more work in mediating and uniting the comrades.

At the opening ceremony, representatives of the young pioneers and representatives of CYL members and young people warmly congratulated the congress.

CSO: 4005/280

NORTH REGION

PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SESSION ENDS 22 DECEMBER

SK230405 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Excerpts] The Ninth Session of the Sixth Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional People's Congress Standing Committee ended on 22 December after a 5-day session. The session examined and approved the draft of the regional preliminary regulations on forest administration which will be promulgated and implemented on a trial basis beginning on 1 January 1985; examined and approved the written report on the handling of motions offered at the second session of the Sixth Regional People's Congress; and examined and approved the resolution concerning the motion of building highways in pastoral areas in Hohhot and (Xilinhote) cities.

Batubagen, chairman of the Regional People's Congress Standing Committee, presided over the plenary session held on 22 December. Attending the session were vice chairmen of the Regional People's Congress Standing Committee, including Hao Xiushan, Zhou Beifeng, He Yao, Seyinbayaer, Chao Luomeng, Butegeqi and Hu Zhongda. Attending the session as observers were Zhao Zhihong, vice chairman of the Regional People's Government; (Zhao Zhenxin), vice president of the Regional Higher People's Court; and Wang Linzhong, chief procurator of the Regional People's Procuratorate.

The session held on 22 December also adopted the decision on appointing (He Erdun) chairman of the Regional Planning Commission; and (Jia Cai) director of the Regional Labor and Personnel Department.

CSO: 4005/280

NORTH REGION

BRIEFS

NEI MONGGOL TOWNSHIPS ABOLISHED--With the approval of the Nei Monggol Regional Government (Huoerqi), (Tubuxing), (Taixinggang), (Geni) and (Arong) Townships in Arun Banner were abolished and changed into towns. In mid-December, the five towns held separate ceremonies for establishing towns. [Excerpt] [Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Dec 84 SK]

STUDENTS' CULTURAL FESTIVAL--A Beijing middle school students' cultural festival opened in the Tianqiao Theater in Beijing today. The festival is sponsored by students of 15 schools, including the 35th middle school, the 4th middle school, and the experimental middle school in Beijing. During the festival period, the students will hold calligraphy, painting and photograph exhibitions, report meetings, and literary and art get-togethers. The activities are designed to cultivate self-consciousness, self-education ability, and self-reliance spirit among the students. Comrade Wang Zhen wrote a letter of congratulations to the cultural festival. [Text] [Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 24 Dec 84 OW]

CSO: 4005/280

NORTHEAST REGION

LI LIAN ATTENDS TV DRAMA AWARD EVENT

SK280434 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Excerpts] On 27 December, the provincial radio and television broadcast department held a prize-giving meeting for the provincial television feature drama entitled "Songhua Jiang Jiaoxiangqu."

Attending the meeting were leading comrades, including Li Lian, secretary of the provincial CPC Committee; Chen Lei, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC Committee and governor of the province; Zhao Dezun, chairman of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee; Zhang Xiaogling, standing committee member of the provincial CPC Committee and director of the provincial propaganda department; and Huang Feng, deputy director of the provincial propaganda department, who also presented citations and money awards to the drama's playwright, composers, directors, and video recording workers.

On the occasion of celebrating the 35th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, the central television broadcast station presented a program of feature dramas produced by various provinces throughout the country, in which the provincial drama of "Songhua Jiang Jiaoxiangqu" won a title of outstanding.

Also attending the meeting were responsible comrades from the provincial radio and television broadcast department, the provincial people's broadcast station, the provincial television broadcast station, and the provincial cultural departments.

CSO: 4005/279

NORTHEAST REGION

CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE SESSION CONTINUES

SK231145 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Excerpts] The 11th Session of the Standing Committee of the 6th Provincial People's Congress continues today. The session listened to the explanation made by Zhang Mingkui, director of the provincial agriculture, animal husbandry, and fishery department, concerning the draft decision on several issues relating to safeguarding the legal rights and interests of rural specialized households in Heilongjiang; the report by (Xin Zhongguo), deputy director of the provincial civil administration department, on the 1984 provincial work of giving relief and helping the poor; the report by the Heilongjiang Provincial Friendship Delegation on its visit to the North Hamgyong Province in the DPRK; and the report by the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee delegation on its visit to the legislative assembly of Niigata Prefecture in Japan.

In his explanation concerning the draft decision on several issues relating to safeguarding the legal rights and interests of rural specialized households in the province, Zhang Mingkui said: At present, there are many obstacles to the sound development of specialized households in the province. Because the rules and regulations on protecting and supporting the specialized households are imperfect, some units and individuals willfully infringe upon the production and management activities and the legal rights and interests of specialized households.

In his report on the 1984 provincial work of giving relief and helping the poor, (Xin Zhongguo) said: The provincial CPC Committee and the people's government have paid great attention to the floods that have occurred in the province this year. The provincial civil administration department has already allocated 16.84 million yuan in relief funds, 46.36 million jin of relief grain, and many other materials and goods to help tide the people over the natural disasters.

(Xin Zhongguo) said: This year, a total of 277,000 impoverished households have been supported by the state and collectives. Of this, civil administration departments at all levels have allocated 3 million yuan in funds and 2.7 million yuan in working funds to support the impoverished households. As a result, 26,950 impoverished households have extricated themselves from poverty, and 4,086 have become well-off.

Lu Guang, vice chairman of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, presided over the 22 December meeting. Attending the meeting were Zhao Dezun, chairman of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee; and Chen Yuanzhi, Wei Zhimin, Zhang Ruilin, Wang Jinling, Wang Zhaozhi, and Wang Jun, vice chairmen of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee. Attending as observers were He Shoulun, provincial vice governor; Zhang Li, president of the provincial Higher People's Court; Yu Jian, chief procurator of the provincial People's Procuratorate; and responsible persons of departments concerned.

CSO: 4005/279

NORTHEAST REGION

BRIEFS

SNOW FESTIVAL IN HARBIN--Harbin, 26 Dec (XINHUA)--Harbin in China's northernmost province of Heilongjiang will open its snow festival on 5 January 1985. The city has a four to five month with temperatures down to minus 38 degrees. Ice lanterns will be displayed. Other festivities will include sleigh races, over-the-ice junk races, figure skating, winter swimming, ice hockey and skiing. An ice sculpture competition will also be held, according to local officials. The festival will be an annual event. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1252 GMT 26 Dec 84 OW]

CSO: 4000/069

FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN ON HONG KONG ACCORD

OW201355 Taipei International Service in English 0100 GMT 20 Dec 84

[Text] Spokesman Wang Chao-huan of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today said that the Government of the Republic of China regrets the agreement just reached between Communist China and Britain on Hong Kong, claiming it has not respected the will of Hong Kong residents to preserve free economy and the democratic system on the colony. In a statement released this afternoon, Wang pointed out: The Communist Chinese regime is a rebel regime and it has no right to represent China to reach any agreement with any foreign government. Therefore, the Republic of China, which is the legitimate government of China, does not recognize the agreement concluded between communist China and Britain this afternoon concerning the future of Hong Kong.

Spokesman Wang said: [begin recording] When the Chinese communist regime and the British government initialed the agreement, the Government of the Republic of China had already presented a solemn declaration to reiterate our firm stand and to call on all people and countries of the world inside the democratic camp to use their influence and to try every way possible to prevent the transfer of Hong Kong and Kowloon area to the communist rule. The Government of the Republic of China has been attaching great importance to the future status of Hong Kong and is concerned about the security, welfare and freedom of the more than 5 million residents in Hong Kong and Kowloon area. For this purpose, this government has set up a high-level ad hoc committee and has already taken many kinds of concrete measures to preserve and help and maintain the free way of life in Hong Kong area. In the years ahead, we will try to continue to examine and study every possible measure and plan in order to help the Hong Kong residents to keep their free way of life. Furthermore, to those who are not willing to live under the communist rule, we welcome them to come to free China. And we will try every possible way to give them all the possible help within our power. [end recording]

CSO: 4000/063

PREMIER YU INTERVIEWED BY FRENCH WEEKLY

OW241121 Taipei International Service in English 0100 GMT 24 Dec 84

[Text] In Taipei, Premier Yu Kuo-hua of the Republic of China, said that the Republic of China has taken various measures to help Chinese people in Hong Kong to continue a free life in view of British plans to transfer the colony to the Peking regime in 1997.

Premier Yu made the remarks in his interview with the vice president of the French weekly (LE POINT) (Rosier Soufeur) on 14 November. (Soufeur) visited Taipei from 11 to 19 November.

The text of the interview was carried by the weekly on 22 December. The premier said that the ROC Government is deeply concerned over the future of Hong Kong and welcomes loyal Chinese there to return here. He added the government will help them to find housing to settle here and assist their children to enter schools. This year, he said, investments in Taiwan from overseas Chinese in Hong Kong increased 75 percent from those of last year.

Substantive relations between the ROC and France are improving during the past year just as expected, Premier Yu said. He called for joint efforts to further advance cooperation programs in the forthcoming years, especially in telecommunications technology. However, the premier said, he hopes the French authorities will simplify visa application procedures for ROC nationals and that direct air service between Taipei and Paris will be inaugurated.

On the situation on the Chinese mainland, Premier Yu said the Peking regime will not change its basic political and social systems although it is trying to open up its economy to a limited degree. He told (Soufeur) that it is just a temporary measure under the pressure of its internal and international situation. On the other hand, he said, the Republic of China is building a free democratic and prosperous China for all Chinese people. As the (?goals) that the two sides of the Taiwan straits are pursuing are totally different, it is impossible for them to make any contacts, Premier Yu stressed.

Premier Yu further pointed out that the Chinese Communists have never abandoned their attempt to invade Taiwan militarily, but he said "we have the confidence in Taiwan's defeating any invasion by our enemy."

TAIPEI ON OUTLOOK FOR HONG KONG CHINESE

OW230614 Taipei International Service in English 0100 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Station commentary]

[Text] British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher yesterday joined the Chinese Communist leadership in signing the so-called joint declaration over Hong Kong, and in so doing signed away the freedom of the 5.5 million Chinese residents there. The signing of the document signaled the end of 150 years of British rule over the colony.

In ordinary circumstances, it should be an occasion of joy for these Chinese residents. In a little over 12 years, they will return to the fold of their motherland. Unfortunately, the motherland they are being forced to return to has become a land of enslavement. (?Most of them are) either escapees from the mainland or their descendant; they know that all the promises made by Peking regarding their future are worthless.

Teng Hsiao-Ping's slogan of one country, two systems is theoretically impossible and has never been put to test anywhere, anytime. In the case of Communist China, this slogan sounds particularly hollow. During the 35 years' of communist rule, the only thing one can be sure of on the mainland is the inconsistency of Peking's policies, which change with time and personality. Who can tell what will happen to Peking's pledges after Teng passes away? Even if Teng and his allies remain in control until 1997 retrocession, there is no guarantee that they will not change their minds.

As a matter of fact, the Teng leadership has already taken steps to speed up the communization of Hong Kong even before the British flag is lowered. Earlier reports said some 20,000 communist cadres have been sent to Hong Kong to pave the way for the 1997 takeover. According to the 17 December issue of the NEWSWEEK magazine, the XINHUA News Agency in Hong will split into two separate operations next year: a news agency and a political department. It is apparent that the latter will increasingly participate in the administration of Hong Kong in the next 12-odd years.

On the surface, Hong Kong appears calm. The stock market has stabilized and rallied since the joint declaration was initialed last September and panic has subsided. But the business-as-usual facade is deceiving. It is common

knowledge that investors generally make good returns on the cycle of 5 years. There are more than two cycles left to get rich before the communists move in. Besides, the residents of Hong Kong have undergone 2 agonizing years of trickery. Their nerves are not strong enough to stand more of the same without a break. However, jittery lingers on in Hong Kong. Those who are financially capable of making a new start elsewhere have either moved away or completed plans to leave on short notice. Those who lack the means to emigrate are resigned to whatever may come after 1997.

No one in Hong Kong can have any joyous feeling regarding the coming change. They may love the motherland, but the motherland does not love them as the daughter of the hero in Chinese writer Pai Hua's play "Bitter Love" points out.

CSO: 4000/063

PAPER CALLS HONG KONG AGREEMENT 'ILLEGAL'

OW211017 Taipei CHINA POST in English 18 Dec 84 p 4

[Editorial "Mrs Thatcher's Fateful Visit to Peking"]

[Text] Mrs Margaret Thatcher, British prime minister, will arrive today at Peking to sign the Red China-British agreement handing over the British colony of Hong Kong to Red China in 1997.

The controversial agreement was initialed at Peking by British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey How on 26 September and approved by the British Parliament without dissent on 5 December after a perfunctory debate in the House of Commons.

Hong Kong civic leaders who attended the debate in the House of Commons described the debate and approval in the House as a "formality" of "foregone conclusion" or "perfunctory."

The British Government did not pay much attention to the Hong Kong people's wishes to be free from Chinese communist domination and enslavement after 1997 even though the Chinese communist promised to maintain Hong Kong's current legal system and capitalist economy for 50 years after the Chinese communists assume sovereignty.

Premier Yu Kuo-hwa of the Republic of China has warned the free world that the draft agreement contains many promises designed to deceive the Hong Kong people and confuse the British Government. It is only one of the Chinese communist common political maneuvers as evidenced by the Tibetan tragedy.

The premier was referring to the Chinese communist breach of promises of autonomy to the Tibetan people as well as peaceful occupation of that vast region by massacring over half a million innocent people in Tibet, nearly one-fifth of its population as soon as it sent its troops into the region.

Teng Hsiao-ping could easily repeat the slaughter in Hong Kong where nearly one-half of its 5.5 million population have fled the Chinese mainland to escape to freedom. What guarantee will the Chinese communist give to Mrs Thatcher that similar atrocities will not happen to those freedom seekers in Hong Kong. Even if the Chinese communist should pay some lip services to assure the British

Prime Minister that no such human rights violations would occur, how could the British Government protect the vital interests of the Hong Kong people upon the violation of such assurances by the 3,000-5,000 Chinese communist troops to be sent in by Teng in 1997 or soon after?

Moreover, the British-Red Chinese agreement is illegal, as the Republic of China is the real party in possession of the original lease document which has the right to claim Hong Kong from the British Government in 1997. Hence any document the British Government should sign with the Peking regime over the future of Hong Kong, will be considered null and void not only by the Republic of China but by international law. Mrs Thatcher has no legitimate ground to sign any such agreement with the Peking regime over the future of Hong Kong as the latter is but a usurper regime without any right to gain Hong Kong.

Only the Republic of China is the rightful party for the British Government to deal with whether the latter likes it or not. Only the ROC can protect the real interests of the 5.5 million people of Hong Kong without endangering their freedom and human rights.

The British denial of Hong Kong people's legitimate wishes to remain free and democratic and its sinister maneuvers to effect the arbitrary transfer of Hong Kong to the Peking regime in 1997 will go down in history as an example of super-power suppression of freedom and human rights. The recent application for political asylum in the United States by a group of Hong Kong refugees is just the beginning of waves of such applications for political asylums in the future.

Thirteen years from now, there may well be boatloads of people from Hong Kong escaping to freedom to replace the Vietnamese refugees on the high seas. When and if that occurs, Mrs Thatcher may regret her fateful visit to Peking 18-20 December to sign the ill-fated agreement yielding Hong Kong to an usurper and oppressive regime.

CSO: 4000/063

TAIWAN PLANS FURTHER TRADE LIBERALIZATION

OW210301 Taipei CNA in English 0233 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Text] Taipei, 20 Dec (CNA)--The Council for Economic Planning and Development said Thursday that the government will launch a series of important steps to promote liberalization of trade next year.

An official with the council said these promotional steps, designed to bring the nation's annual economic growth up to 8.5 percent, will include opening the door for more imports, increasing volume in exports and rationalizing trade laws and regulations.

He said these policy-guided measures will be referred to the related trade offices to be put into operation next year.

On relaxation of imports to introduce competition from abroad, the government policy will put stress on lifting restrictions against more important items, lowering import duties, providing financing accommodations, improving methods for import of bulk commodities and organizing buying missions to procure goods and services from abroad.

On expansion of export markets to promote sales abroad, the government efforts will be focused on several targets:

--Continued negotiation with Japan urging it to lower its trade barriers by cutting import duty rates;

--Continued expansion of trade with Canada and the European Common Market;

--More technical and whole-plant exports to Southeast Asia;

---A well-mapped approach to exporting strategic industrial products; and

--A streamlined profile of export products to boost competitive power with other countries.

On improvement of trade laws and regulations to cope with rising trade protectionism, efforts will be directed toward:

- Revision of rules governing export-import firms and standards set for evaluating investments by Overseas Chinese and foreign firms;
- Revision of textile export quota rules;
- Prohibition of counterfeiting of patents and trademarks;
- Negotiating with foreign countries on preferential treatment;
- Upgrading the nation's capability in dealing with cases on quota restrictions, anti-dumping schemes and unfair competition practices.

CSO: 4000/063

PROCESSING ZONES INCREASE EXPORTS, IMPORTS

OW210357 Taipei CNA in English 0255 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Text] Taipei, 20 Dec (CNA)--The total exports and imports of the three export processing zones in Kaohsiung, Nantzu and Taichung are expected to hit U.S. dollar 3 billion this year, the highest since the processing zones were established 18 years ago.

According to the statistics released by the Economics Ministry's export processing zone administration, the total exports and imports of the three zones from January to November had already reached U.S. dollar 2.8 billion, showing an increase of 25.6 percent over the same period last year. During this period, the imports increased by 23.37 percent to U.S. dollar 970 million, and the exports hit U.S. dollar 1.86 billion, up 27.85 percent from the same period last year, the statistics say.

In November alone, the imports registered an increase of 14.8 percent over the same period last year, while the exports were also up 25.2 percent.

If the pace of growth continues, the total foreign trade of the three processing zones is expected to set a record of U.S. dollar 3 billion, the administration says.

CSO: 4000/063

TAIWAN CONFIRMS REJECTION OF SINO-BRITISH ACCORD

HK181220 Hong Kong AFP in English 1203 GMT 18 Dec 84

[By Huang Yu-mei]

[Text] Taipei, 18 Dec (AFP)--Taiwan today repeated that it would not recognize as valid any agreement between Peking and London, the day before the scheduled signing of a Sino-British agreement on the future of Hong Kong.

The Taiwanese cabinet, called the Executive Yuan, said that under a 1943 treaty between Britain and the nationalist Chinese Government, only the nationalists had the authority to negotiate with Britain about Hong Kong.

The nationalist government, then based in China, fled to Taiwan in 1949 from the advancing communist armies.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is scheduled to arrive in Peking last today, for the signing tomorrow of an agreement which will hand the colony over to China in 1997.

Under the accord Hong Kong will be a highly autonomous Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China for 50 years after 1997, retaining its capitalist economy and its lifestyle.

The nationalist administration here, which has no diplomatic relations with China, and regards itself as that country's legitimate government, has repeatedly said it will not recognize any Sino-British agreement.

Britain first occupied Hong Kong, which shares a border with China's Guangdong Province, in 1841.

The 1843 treaty said that Hong Kong should be returned to the nationalist government in 1997, when London's lease over most of the territory expires, the Yuan said.

It made the remarks in written answers to question from legislators Pan Chao-ying, Wong Cheng-hua and Lu Tsung-chi on what Taipei would do about the Sino-British accord.

The Yuan has said it plans the following measures:

--Enlarge the "Hong Kong ad hoc group," set up by the government to work out how to deal with problems raised by the accord, and strengthen its functions.

--Build up an international financial center and trade center in Taipei, and help Hong Kong businessmen relocate there.

--Simplify entry and exit formalities for Hong Kong people by issuing multiple permits.

--Issue public statements showing China's alleged tactics of deceiving the Hong Kong public over how it will rule them.

--Maintain links with Overseas Chinese communities, international associations, and influential people, and try to achieve world media hostility to Chinese rule of Hong Kong.

--Relax restrictions of Hong Kong residents' investment in Taiwan. For urgent investors, capital, machinery, or raw materials could be shipped in first and formalities taken care of later.

Meanwhile, a communications official said aviation links between Taipei and Hong Kong would go through "subtle changes" before 1997.

Taiwan has no communications links with China, but does have aviation links with Hong Kong.

From 1997 "we will have...the problem that we should not have transportation links with the communist areas," the official added.

"We plan to develop Kaohsiung Harbor into a (shipping) transit center in the Far East to replace Hong Kong," which is trading and financial hub, he added.

Transit business at Kaohsiung had increased 100 percent in the past year, he said.

CSO: 4000/063

PRESIDENT CHIANG, PREMIER YU ADDRESS ACADEMICIANS

OW181059 Taipei CNA in English 0938 GMT 18 Dec 84

[Text] Taipei, 18 Dec (CNA)--President Chaign Ching-kuo today called on the nation's intellectuals to recognize their duty to the nation, which he said is heavier than that of men in the streets.

In a message read by Vice President Lee Teng-hui at the opening ceremony of the conference of academicians, President Chiang said intellectuals in China have been traditionally held in reverence both politically and socially, and most intellectuals in Chinese history considered it their duty to make the nation secure and prosperous.

The president called on members of the Academia Sinica to play their role in attaining the national goal of reunification under the Three Principles of the People.

Speaking on the same occasion, Premier Yu Kuo-hwa said the government is confident in building up a modern Republic of China. He solicited the advice of the academicians in this respect.

Mr Wu Ta-you, president of Academia Sinica and chairman of the conference, told the conferees that the academy now has 18 research units in operation or coming into being.

In addition to a regular staff of over 570 workers, Academia Sinica also has some 400 research personnel working under contract or participating in its research project.

The participants will visit the academy's various research units and submit their recommendations. Thursday morning, they will meet in three separate groups.

The conferees will deal with the key task of election of new academicians Friday. Twenty-five candidates will vie for the honor of being members of the academy.

A total of 80 academicians are attending the gathering this year, the largest ever. Fifty-eight of them came from the United States, including Nobel Physicist Lee Cheng-dao. The academicians will entrain for southern Taiwan Saturday morning to tour various cultural and economic establishments.

CSO: 4000/063

TAIWAN

TAIWAN SEEKS INVESTMENT TREATIES IN CARIBBEAN

OW210303 Taipei CNA in English 0240 CMT 21 Dec 84

[Text] Taipei, 20 Dec (CNA)--The Ministry of Economic Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are planning to sign investment protection treaties with friendly nations in Caribbean basin area to encourage more businessmen here to invest in that region.

The ad hoc Committee for the Promotion of Investment in Caribbean Nations held its third meeting Thursday to discuss some incentive measures. The meeting was jointly presided over by Vice Economics Minister Wu Mei-tsun and Vice Foreign Minister Shao Hsiah-kwen.

Attorney Hsu Hsiao-po was invited to make a report on the risks of investment in Central and South American nations and problems the nation's businessmen might face if they decide to invest in that area.

To reduce the risks of local investors, the ROC Government will try to negotiate with nations in that area on the signing of investment protection treaties, Wu said.

If such agreements can be reached, it will be easier for local investors to protect their properties in these nations and have loans from the banks, Wu said.

It is understood that this nation has already signed such a treaty with Paraguay.

CSO: 4000/063

TAIWAN

GENERAL URGES RELIGIOUS BROADCASTS TO MAINLAND

OW240445 Taipei CNA in English 0248 GMT 24 Dec 84

[Text] Taipei, 23 Dec (CNA)--Gen Ho Ying-chin has called on the Christians of the Republic of China on Taiwan to render their support to the campaign of broadcasting of the Gospel to the China Mainland as a Christmas gift to the compatriots there.

In his witness at a Christian gathering at the Ambassador Hotel in Taipei, Gen Ho said he hopes the Christians and other people in this nation can donate and offer their assistance to realize the campaign of broadcasting the Gospel to the one billion people on the China mainland who are suffering under the communist rule.

Gen Ho said the only way that the people on the China mainland can hear the Gospel is through radio broadcasting, and therefore, Christian leaders here decided to launch a donation campaign and raise money for the broadcasting to help the compatriots realize their dream.

Starting in April next year, the Gospel will be broadcast on short-wave to the China mainland through the assistance of the FEBC radio station on the Saipan Island.

It is estimated that one-minute broadcasting will cost about NT dollar 500, and therefore, the committee said it hopes every Christian can donate at least this amount.

More than 400 Christians and church members in this nation attended the prayers meeting Saturday which was presided over by Rev Wu Sung-ching. A fund of NT dollar 300,000 was raised during the meeting.

CSO: 4000/063

PRESIDENT SPEAKS TO CONSTITUTION DAY RALLY

OW251612 Taipei CNA in English 1426 GMT 25 Dec 84

[Text] Taipei, 25 Dec (CNA)--President Chiang Ching-kuo Tuesday told the participants in the 1984 Constitution Day Rally that the constitution of the Republic of China is the unchangeable foundation of the government through temporary expedient measures have been adopted by this nation at a time when the government is engaging in an anti-communist struggle.

The rally held at Taipei City Hall this morning was attended by former President Yen Chia-kan, Vice President Lee Teng-hui, senior advisers to the president, presidents and vice presidents of the five yuans, ranking government officials and brasshats, and political party executives.

President Chiang said that a democratic constitution is developed through periods of groping, searching, adjustment, and adaptation. A suitable constitution can be developed after the various barriers have been overcome.

Held together with the rally was the joint opening ceremony of the 19th plenary meeting of the Constitutional Research Council of the National Assembly and the annual conference of the National Assembly.

Immediately after the 20-minute ceremony, the preparatory meeting of the 1984 National Assembly meeting was held with Yu Ching-tang, delegate of the National Assembly, presiding.

Premier Yu Kuo-hwa, invited to speak at the occasion, said that the superiority of the democratic and constitutional system and the eventual reunification of China under the three principles of people are evident in view of the big contrast between the abundant life of people on Taiwan and life in want and misery on the China mainland.

Premier Yu also gave an account of the government's administrative policy at the meeting.

CSO: 4000/063

CHIANG SPEAKS AT ACADEMICIANS' CONFERENCE

OW181618 Taipei CNA in English 1512 GMT 18 Dec 84

[Text] Taipei, 18 Dec (CNA)--President Chiang Ching-Kuo Tuesday called on members of Academia Sinica to continue dedicating their wisdom and experience to bolstering the bulwarks of the nation and glorifying Chinese culture.

President Chaign made these remarks in his congratulatory message to the four-day 16th conference of academicians that opened here Tuesday. He expressed his appreciations to the academicians for their gathering in Taipei to study measures to further the nation's academic development. He especially extended welcome to Overseas Chinese academicians for returning to attend the conference.

The development of this country over the past decades has mainly resulted from full support of the people and educational success under the guidance of the Three Principles of the People. Academia Sinica is the nation's highest academic body, and all academicians, with top wisdom and rich experience, have made significant contribution to the national development. "Your spirit and determination to serve the nation with academic achievements have been fully recognized by all Chinese people," the president pointed out. In Chinese political and social tradition, intellectuals have always been respected by the general public, he reminded them, and most intellectuals have obliged themselves to serve the nation. "Today," the president stressed, "you all have a special historic mission."

President Chiang called on all academicians, with determination and perseverance, to shoulder the heavy responsibility. "You should work closely for progress and serve the nation as a team of professionals to nurture and raise up a culture here having a nature that is both traditionally Chinese and has features of modern civilization. Then Chinese culture will be enriched and shine forever over the world," he said.

The Three Principles of the People carries the inherent traits of Chinese culture, and their implementation is the ultimate goal of national construction after the mainland is recovered, the president pointed out. He said he is confident all the academicians, gathered here now, with their rich knowledge and love for the nation, will further devote their utmost in serving and building the national base. This, he said, will help accomplish the national missions at an early date.

GUANGZHOU CADRE IN HONG KONG DEFECTS TO TAIWAN

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 85, Nov 84 p 10

[Article by Wei Shang [7614 5951]: "Before Lu Yuxi Went To Taiwan"]

[Text] At the beginning of October, CPC cadre Lu Yuxi [7120 7183 3215] went to Taiwan. He is an ordinary person from Guangzhou and not a person in the know.

However, Lu Yuxi, a native of Jilin Province, has lived for many years among the Guangzhou people.

Originally he was a middle-level cadre in the light industry system. Three months ago he was temporarily transferred to the Liaison Department of the General Political Department and sent to Hong Kong, where he worked in a trading company.

A high-level cadre of the Guangzhou Industry Department told this writer that before Lu Yuxi went to Taiwan a woman cadre of the Guangzhou Light Industry Department had gone missing in Hong Kong. This woman had been a member of a light industry delegation sent out of China on an inspection. On the delegation's way back home it had passed through Hong Kong, and this woman cadre suddenly went missing. Guangzhou quarters doubt that she went to Taiwan.

It is said that Lu had good relations with this woman cadre.

"Was Lu the first cadre this year sent to Hong Kong who went to Taiwan?" This writer asked the high-level cadre.

"As far as I know, the first cadre to go missing was a trade representative from a province in North China who had been stationed in Hong Kong. However, I do not have information that he defected to Taiwan."

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CSO: 4005/201

SUCCESS OF PRC REFORM SEEN AS HOPE FOR HONG KONG'S FUTURE

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 85, Nov 84 pp 15-16

[Article by T'ang Tsai-hsing [0781 0375 5281]: "Mainland Reform and Hong Kong's Future"]

[Text] Wherein Lies the Guarantee for Hong Kong's Future?

The Third Plenary Session of the Twelfth CPC Central Committee on 20 October passes the "Decision on Reform of the Economic System," indicating that the CPC had blown the bugle call for making cities the focal point of economic reform. Five years ago the CPC had first set about reform in the rural areas, replacing the people's communes with the "output-linked contract system"; in these 5 years there has been a big change in the appearance of the rural areas, proving that the effect of the reform has already been seen there. The reform of the economic system in cities was initiated on this basis. The "Decision" states: "The basic experience in putting the contract system into practice in the rural areas is similarly applicable to cities." A comprehensive survey of the reform measures in the rural areas shows that its basic experience is nothing more than "untying people" and letting the peasants have a fairly full right to act on their own in production and thus invigorate the rural economy. It looks as if this making cities the focal point of economic reform also is not separated from "untying persons."

Of course, in the reform of the city economy, the content must be richer and the problems more complex than in the rural areas. The CPC has set 5 years as the time limit for obtaining success in this reform. It is too early now to forecast whether this reform will succeed. However, here I want to point out that the success or failure of this reform is closely linked to the future of Hong Kong and to the destiny of the Hong Kong people; personages abroad cannot not look at it carefully.

Previously, we hoped by all ways and means to seek certain truly reliable guarantees in the "agreement" on Hong Kong's future, but could not get them; now it seems like our only hope is that the CPC's economic reform will obtain a greater success than anticipated and this will be the most reliable guarantee for no change for 50 years after 1997 an Hong Kong's capitalist system.

This can be tested and observed from its economic and economic aspects.

First, the Affirmation of the Market Mechanism

Not looking at the terminology about "socialism" that fills the CPC Central Committee's "Decision," provided we penetrate this terminology, it is not difficult to discover that the direction and content of the economic reform determined by the "Decision" are a considerable breakthrough compared with traditional socialism. It basically affirms the economic operating laws of capitalism, and also applies them to China's economic reform.

For example, with regard to the question of whether to recognize the decisive role of the market mechanism in economic activity, for a long time the CPC had refused to recognize this role. We know that the development of commodity production, no matter whether under the socialist system or the capitalist system, has its own special laws, and especially what commodity production in a free economy must first of all consider is market demand. One kind of commodity will circulate on the market, and another kind of commodity will vanish from the market; what kind of commodity should be produced and what kind of commodity should not be produced; what commodities are to be produced somewhat more and what commodities are to be produced somewhat less--in all of this an invisible thing plays the decisive role, namely, the market mechanism.

In the past, communist party members practiced the "socialist" economy and basically negated the role of the market mechanism, denouncing it as the "blindness of capitalist production." What they advocated was a "planned economy," and they tried to bring commodity production into the frame of plans drawn up in advance, and even to negate commodity production, and thus they only proposed "product production." However, it is an objective law that even the most astute economic expert's "plan" cannot accurately seize upon the fast changes in the market, because the market demand is ever-changing and constantly developing. The result of a "planned economy" is that commodity production is out of line with social consumption and basically cannot develop satisfactorily.

The Chinese communists have suffered from the 20 to 30 years of a planned economy, but in the past several years they have made a self-examination. However, there is still no breakthrough. They have only acknowledged certain effects of the market mechanism and have at most put forward the slogan "planned economy is primary and regulation by market mechanism is supplementary," still clinging rigidly to the planned economy. This is precisely the reason that there has been small results from the reform of the urban economy in the past several years.

Now, the Chinese communists are finally coming out of the blind alley of planned economy. The "Decision" says: "On the question of the commodity economy and the law of value, the difference between a socialist economy and a capitalist economy is not whether the commodity economy exists or the law of value plays its role, but in the fact that the systems of ownership are different." "To try to put all the various economic activities of

society into a plan, and to solely rely on administrative orders to carry out the plan, neglecting the important role of economic levers and regulation by market mechanism, will unavoidably create a separation between the subjective and the objective in the guiding ideology of the plan, and the plan will be seriously out of line with reality." Therefore, in their guiding ideology for leading the economy, the Chinese communists have begun to make the big change from planned economy to market mechanism.

Of course, the CPC does not completely not want a planned economy, but there is also a fairly big change in the planned economy it needs, namely, that it has switched from a plan of a directed nature, which it originally resorted to, to attaching importance to a plan of a guided nature. If the CPC puts into practice a plan of a guided nature, then, even if it continues to implement the planned economy to a certain degree, this will not unify the economy rigidly, because a plan of a guided nature will not have the coercion of administrative orders like a plan of a directed nature has, and it will not seriously control and bind the hands and feet of enterprises.

To go from "planned economy is primary and regulation by market mechanism is supplementary" to a fairly full affirmation of the market mechanism, and to make a self-criticism of the malpractices of the planned economy, is a big leap for the CPC in its guiding ideology for the economy. The question that remains is the question of "proportion," that is to say, will the enterprises that practice regulation by market mechanism be in a "70-30 ratio" or an "80-20 ratio"?

In his article "On China's destiny" (see the 1 October issue of CHENG MING), Mr Wen Hui [3306 6540] suggested that the CPC let 80 percent of the enterprises cast off the shackles of the planned economy and accept the restraints of the market mechanism. This is a quite insightful suggestion.

Because of this change by the CPC and the future success of the reform, its economic activities will, to a rather large degree, be consistent with the economic activities of the capitalist world, including those of Hong Kong. Without a doubt this would be a big guarantee for Hong Kong's continued prosperity.

Inevitably Bringing About a Change in Political System

Attaching importance to the market economy cannot but untie the enterprises. Therefore, the CPC decided to make reforming the economic system the central link in economic reform, and to give enterprises the full right to act on their own, thereby increasing the vitality of the enterprises. The "Decision" says: "From now on, the government departments at all levels will, in principle, no longer directly administer and manage enterprises. As for the small number of the government's economic departments whom the state has vested with the responsibility of directly administering and managing enterprises, they also must, in accordance with the spirit of simplifying government and releasing authority, correctly handle the relationship with their subordinate enterprises." The CPC has decided in

this reform to put into practice "separation of government and enterprise responsibilities, and simplification of government and release of authority." If this aspiration is achieved, its significance cannot be belittled. This shows that, because of the economic reform, there will unavoidably be a political reform; otherwise, the superstructure and the economic foundation would not adapt to each other.

In China, the party and the government cannot be strictly differentiated. When the decision says "from now on the government departments at all levels will, in principle, no longer directly administer and manage enterprises," we can understand this to mean that the party committees at all levels, in principle, will no longer directly administer and manage enterprises. If this is the case, the possibility of political interference in the economy will certainly be greatly reduced. In the "Decision" there is only one sentence which emphatically refers to party organizations: "The party organization in an enterprise must vigorously support the factory director in exercising the power of unified command of production and business activities, guarantee and supervise the thorough implementation of all principles and policies of the party and the state, strengthen the party's ideological building and organizational building in the enterprise, strengthen leadership over the trade union and the CYL organization in the enterprise, and do good ideological and political work among the workers and staff."

Feasibility of Abolishing Party Committees

We hope that the CPC, on this basis, will boldly withdraw from the enterprises and completely abolish party committee leadership. For the untying of the enterprises this will be a good thing, not a bad thing. This advocacy of ours is not lunatic ravings. In China the first unit without a party committee is about to appear, namely, Shenzhen Experimental University. The founder of the university, Professor Chen Shubai [7115 2885 2673], knows full well that a party committee would seriously restrict his movements, and thus in his 10-point proposal for running the school the idea that a party committee would not be set up in it was given prominence. With regard to this idea of his, the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone and the Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee did not dare to nod assent, the Ministry of Education did not dare to nod assent, but finally Hu Yaobang, "representing the party Central Committee," nodded his assent. This is an earth-shattering and heaven-battering unprecedented undertaking. We can predict that once the experimental university, in which no party committee has been set up, is successful, an incalculable shock force is bound to be produced. It will tell the common people that it is not true that one cannot move an inch without a party committee, and it is also true that the party committee is omnipotent.

We think that if the economic reform succeeds, it will cause a breakthrough politically, so that, to a fairly large degree, China's economy will not suffer from political interference. Li Kuang-yao [2621 0342 5069] once pointed out that Hong Kong is a model of an economy that does not suffer from political interference and that this is one of the fundamental reasons

for its high-speed development. Just think, once there is a possibility that the political interference in the economy on the mainland decreases, then what worry would Hong Kong have about suffering from interference after 1997?

In brief, once the reform on the mainland succeeds, it is bound to lead to a certain consistency with Hong Kong from economics to politics, and help weaken the serious antagonism between the "two systems" in the "one country with two systems." Who can say this would not be a most reliable guarantee for Hong Kong's future?

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HONG HONG GOES TO TAIWAN AFTER HIDING IN HONG KONG

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in China No 84, Nov 84 p 10

[Article by Lu Fang [7120 2455]: "Guangzhou People Look at Hong Hong"]

[Text] There once was a rumor in Guangzhou that Hong Hong [4767 5725], who had "gone missing" in Hong Kong, had already returned to Guangzhou.

Now many people in Guangzhou know that Hong Hong has gone to Taiwan.

The reaction of young people is, "In any case, Hong Hong is "extroverted," "There's no problem in her going to Taiwan, which is also China's territory."

Some people "explored" with excitement Hong Hong's tracks in the former period: where exactly did she hide?

It is said that Hong Kong's XINHUA office knew that Hong Hong had been in hiding in Hong Kong for a long time. When it was widely rumored in Hong Kong that she had gone to Singapore or Thailand, she actually remained in Hong Kong. At the very beginning, in order to avoid the Hong Kong police, Hong Hong remained in seclusion and did not go out. Later, on one occasion she went outside for food and drink and was recognized by other people, after which she remained completely hidden. This writer long ago knew about this, and, after reading the article entitled "Mystery Within a Mystery in Hong Hong's Disappearance" in the August issue of CHENG MING, I felt this article would not satisfy the readers and wanted to supplement it. But I feared that after the story had been spread all over the place, it would be detrimental to Hong Hong (who might be taken into custody by the Hong Kong police and sent back to the mainland), and therefore I did not give my report to the readers of CHENG MING.

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POLITICAL PRISONER LI GUANGYI RELEASED FROM PRISON

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 85, Nov 84 p 10

[Article by Fang Chih [2455 0037]: "Li Guangyi Released From Prison"]

[Text] Recently there has been news of the release by Beijing of fairly many political prisoners and "speech prisoners."

Not to speak of the others, Li Guangyi [2621 0342 6095] has already been released.

Li Guangyi had been the chief editor of CAIMAO BAO [FIANACE AND TRADE] published in Beijing, and a few years ago had been sentenced to 5 years and thrown in prison. The charge was "revealing to foreigners important party and state secrets." At that time some news workers were of the opinion: "When he associated with foreigners, if they 'had a question' he 'had an answer,'" but his answers were on matters of no importance and yet were reckoned as "revealing" something!"

Some persons in political circles proposed that Li Guangyi be "reinstated in his former post" and then be promoted from his post at CAIMAO BAO to the post of chief editor of JINGJI RIBAO [ECONOMICS DAILY]. The news makes us rejoice. What the result will be we do not yet know, but it is hoped that after Li Guangyi, all political prisoners, "speech prisoners," and prisoners who "revealed secrets," who have suffered an injustice, will regain their freedom.

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GUANGMING RIBAO WRITER 'SENT DOWN' FOR AFFAIR WITH WOMAN WRITER

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 85, Nov 84 p 10

[Article by Lin Chien [2651 2914]: "The Recent Situation of the Person in Yu Luojin's Book"]

[Text] In her book "Spring Fairy Tale" Yu Luojin [6657 5012 6930] depicted an emotional entanglement between her and a veteran cadre. He is a certain Ma, a responsible person in the Theoretical Group of GUANGMING RIBAO.

After the publication of "Spring Fairy Tale," Ma was criticized and suspended from his duties. It is said that he is now working in Shaanxi, where he had been "transferred to a lower level" (another rumor says he is working in Shenzhen).

Recently Ma stated his views in GUANGMING RIBAO. In the 9 September issue of this newspaper, there was carried an article on the question of intellectuals, which was not prominently featured. The article was signed Ma Peiwen [7456 3099 2429].

It is said that Ma's problem has already been solved. However, for the time being he has not been "reinstated in his original post." Naturally, his "affair" with Yu Luojin has become a thing of the past never to be repeated.

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CONCEPT OF 'ONE COUNTRY, TWO SYSTEMS' ANALYZED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 85, Nov 84 pp 41-44

[Article by T'ao Chun [7118 6511]: "An Exploration into 'One Country, Two Systems' and Its Prospects"]

[Text] Beginning with the LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] WEEKLY Article "One country, two systems" was first conceived by the CPC to solve the Taiwan issue, and now it is extended to Hong Kong. By so doing, the CPV feels that the concept, in addition to China, may be extended to the world to solve a number of momentous international disputes. This was the evolutionary process of "one country, two systems." Some commentators abroad maintain that it is a Marxist-Leninist theory. Actually, the CPV itself has never claimed it as Marxism-Leninism; it only maintains that it starts from reality and was only proposed for the sake of seeking truth from the facts and respecting historical reality. Deng Xiaoping discussed it when receiving foreign visitors from Hong Kong-Macao figures recently, and his views were summarized and published by the LIAOWANG WEEKLY. He said:

"National unification is the desire of the nation. Whether 100 years or 1,000 years, it will be achieved. The implementation of 'one country, systems,' I feel, is the only way to solve the problem. This concept is not formed today; it was formed several years ago, especially after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee. It started with China's solution of the Taiwan and Hong Kong issues. (Author's note: Please note that Taiwan is mentioned before Hong Kong, implying that the concept started with the consideration of the Taiwan issue.) There are two ways to solve the Hong Kong and Taiwan issues: Nonpeaceful and peaceful. The nonpeaceful way, solution by force, is, after all, undesirable. How should the issues be solved in a peaceful way? It calls for the full consideration of the histories and realities of Hong Kong and Taiwan. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Party restored Chairman Mao's line of seeking truth from the facts, starting from reality in everything. Respecting facts and respecting reality mean respect for the historical realities of Hong Kong and Taiwan. The way of Taiwan's unification with the mainland proposed by us is fair and reasonable. After unification, Taiwan will continue to follow capitalism and the mainland socialism. Nevertheless, it will be a unified China. One China, two systems. It is the same with the Hong Kong issue."

Not Marxism-Leninism, But a New Invention

As everyone knows, whether Marxists or Leninists, all are communists, i.e., thorough socialists. They all advocate that the proletariat seize the bourgeois political power by violent revolutionary means and turn the private ownership of production means into ownership by society, thereby achieving socialism and thereafter transitting to communism. Starting from historical materialism, Marx advocated the theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship. Applying this theory, Lenin created a proletarian dictatorship in Russia and expelled the Socialist Revolutionary Party and Menshevik from the regime. Throughout his life, he opposed the theory of class reconciliation. He only made certain concessions or compromises with the bourgeoisie when there was no alternative, and one major concession related to the issues now under discussion was the new economic policy introduced in 1921.

Lenin professed that the new economic policy was a retreat, and that it was only introduced because of the "spontaneous forces of the small private owners and private capitalism in a country of small-peasant economy." To deal with "the harassment of the workers' political power by the millions of antennas of the petty bourgeois hydra," Lenin advocated the introduction of "state capitalism," i.e., "a sort of capitalism which can be restricted and whose boundaries can be regulated," and thereafter transitting to socialism.

The specific substance of Lenin's "state capitalism" was: abolishing the compulsory collection of the peasants' surplus grain and changing it to the grain tax, and permitting free trade by the peasants; creating joint companies with state and domestic or foreign private capital; introducing the lease system, permitting foreign capital to invest and operate within a given sphere for a given duration in Russia.

The abolition of the compulsory collection of surplus grain greatly ameliorated the tension between the Bolshevik regime and the peasants, permitting free trade by the peasants revitalized the general market economy, but joint companies and the lease systems produced no obvious results even during Lenin's lifetime. After Lenin suffered a stroke in 1922 and died in early 1924, intraparty struggles immediately erupted and Stalin gradually seized power, eventually putting an end to the new economic policy, introducing the collective farm and planned economy and creating a socialism of the Soviet model.

Basically similar, the CPC's economic reforms today go beyond Lenin's new economic policy, especially the creation of special economic zones, which would have been inconceivable to Lenin.

Nevertheless, "one country, two system" is after all not identical with the special economic zone, and it is even more distinguishable from the new economic policy. The starting point of Lenin's new economic policy was to revitalize the economy, while that of "one country, two systems" is "national unification;" the former was the communist party's temporary and limited

concession to the spontaneous forces of capitalism under the situation where it controlled the political power and main economic lifelines of the state, while the latter is an attempt, in consideration of the objective and historical realities, at the "peaceful coexistence" of socialism with the capitalist system in the same state for a considerable historical duration.

Obviously, "one country, two systems" is definitely neither Marxism, nor Leninism, but a new invention of the Deng Xiaoping age.

Deng Xiaoping's Concept of the Great Unity

Deng Xiaoping is a man of action. Rather than revering theories, he pays serious attention to reality; therefore, he does not have Mao Zedong's distinguished and romantic revolutionary fervor, nor does he concern himself with the question of whether the policies conform to the ideological conventions. His greatest desire is how to maintain and consolidate the CPC's political power and build a wealthy and strong modern China under its control.

The concepts of wealth and strength in Deng Xiaoping's mind are subservient to the CPC's control. In terms of wealth, today's Hong Kong and Taiwan are both much wealthier than the China mainland, but Deng Xiaoping has no admiration for such wealth, and nor does he find it honorable. Only when wealthy Hong Kong and Taiwan are included under his power will he feel "a sense of honor." Thus, which of the two concepts is more important in his mind? Obviously, strength is more important than wealth. This strength concept is not simply the idea of national modernization, but an expression of the great national unity.

Great national unity is an ancient traditional Chinese concept. Formed as early as in the period of Emperors Wen and Wu and Zhou Gongdan in West Zhou and developed by the Emperor of Qin, it became the model of administration by the emperors through the ages in China's history of more than 2,000 years. The strength of the state was often linked with territorial expansion, as if the larger the national territory, the greater were its power. In ancient times, territories were expanded by means of military expeditions, but, being more civilized, China no longer considers military expeditions the only means. Instead, it has created the idea of "peaceful unification." Though the means has changed, basically the concept of great national unity has not. Deng Xiaoping said; "National unification is the desire of the nation. Whether 100 years or 1,000 years, it will be achieved." These words should be underlined. They indicate that, in Deng Xiaoping's mind, national unification (actually, unified state power) is a 100-year cause, 1,000-year cause. How far has it been removed from Marx's and Engels' concept that the state is a product of the historical category of the bourgeoisie!

In the West, especially after the independence of America, Canada and Australia, the state is separated from the concept of national unity. White people constituted 99 percent of Australia's 10 million population, with 95 percent of them being the progenies of English immigrants. These English immigrants living in Australia had no desire for national unity with England;

on the contrary, they sought Australia's independence. Most of Canada's 20 million population were English and French immigrants. Instead of unity with their native England or France, they wanted to cast off the colonial control and build an independent country. America's conditions were even more so. Its War of Independence in the 1770's was actually a revolution of the Anglo-Saxons living in America against English control. The separation of the nationality from the nation actually had its inception in America's War of Independence.

Because of the long entrenched unity concept, China always feels that all people of Chinese nationality must be unified within one country; otherwise it will be national disobedience. Due to this concept, Deng Xiaoping constantly thinks of the return of Taiwan and Hong Kong, to be achieved in 100 years, or even 1,000 years, as if the concept of national unity were eternally immutable. The harm of tradition is often unconscious. It often blockades a person's mind, prevents him from assimilating the wisdom of a wider world and makes him opinionated.

Preservation of Prosperity

Deng Xiaoping started from the premise of national unity in his proposal of the "one country, two systems" concept. In other words, he hoped to include Taiwan and Hong Kong in the Communist Chinese domain. However, such hope encountered an insurmountable obstacle: Hong Kong's and Taiwan's economies are more developed than that of the China mainland, and their people are more well-to-do and free. Hong Kong, in particular, is the freest among all Chinese societies. Thus, the people of the mainland fled to Hong Kong one after another, but, unless they violated the law in Hong Kong, no one fled to the mainland.

The outward flow of the mainland people manifests the inclination of their hearts as a result of the suppression, obscurantism, deceit and impoverishment encountered by them in Communist China's socialist society and its failure to provide them with wealth, happiness, freedom and democracy. All those who once lived under Communist Chinese control are generally disappointed toward the regime, let alone any inclination toward it on the part of the Hong Kong and Taiwan people. The comparison between socialism and capitalism is extremely clear in the past 35 years. No matter how the CPC propagandizes, it absolutely has no way to convince the Hong Kong and Taiwan people of the happiness of socialism.

Thus, Deng Xiaoping claims that "one country, two systems" is in respect of Hong Kong's and Taiwan's historical realities. If the communists truly respect historical realities, how do they account for the revolutionary activities pursued by them in the past? Revolution is to overthrow the historical reality. The CPC's participation in the Northern Expedition was for the purpose of overthrowing the historical reality of China's separatist warlord regimes. From its Nanchang uprising to Jinggangshan and its Yanan activities, all were for the purpose of overthrowing the historical reality of the Kuomintang and the Chiang dynasty. Why does the CPC, which promoted the revolution for decades, suddenly realize that respecting historical realities is the one and only way to seek truth from facts.

The alleged respect, to put it bluntly, is not a true respect for historical realities, but respect for the Taiwan and Hong Kong people's inclination toward capitalism, for their terror of the economic and political systems and living patterns followed on the mainland, and what is even more important, for the preservation of Taiwan's and Hong Kong's prosperity. On this final point, Deng Xiaoping himself has made it very clear. He said: "If the continued practice of the capitalist system in Hong Kong and Taiwan is not ensured, it will be impossible to preserve their stability and prosperity."

Deng Xiaoping needs a Hong Kong and a Taiwan which can continue their prosperity and stability after their return, not a declining economy due to liberation requiring support by the mainland. Nevertheless, after 35 years of Communist Chinese history, even Deng Xiaoping, the supreme leader of the CPC, has realized that the preservation of society's prosperity hinges not on socialism, but on capitalism. Thus, the proposal of "one country, two systems" is actually equivalent to admitting the incapacity of socialism to ensure social prosperity. It is as good as a resounding slap on the myth that "only socialism can save China" advocated by Communist China in the past.

Communist China's Capitalist Tendencies

Naturally, Deng Xiaoping could not come out and say that socialism has not superiority. He could only state the positive in the negative, claiming that the CPC's guarantee to preserve Hong Kong's and Taiwan's practice of capitalism is in respect of history's accomplished facts. But from start to finish, he was unable to give any facts showing the superiority of socialism. When declaring that the mainland will continue to follow socialism, he was at a loss for words and could only substitute a firm tone for reasoning. He said: "Our socialist system will not change; it will never change." As for why it will not change and never change, he was unable to give a reason.

He then said: "China's main body must be socialism; it has already produced results." Why must China's main body be socialism? What are the results? If we talk about the history prior to the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee on 18 December 1978, the results of the early period were the 1958 "great leap forward" and "people's commune," allegedly things of the socialist general line, bringing with them the 1960-1962 nationwide great famine, and that of the later period was the 10-year catastrophe of the Great Cultural Revolution started in 1966 and ending with the death of Mao Zedong in 1976. It pushed China's economy to the verge of collapse.

Today's "results produced by socialism" boasted by Deng Xiaoping are merely the opening of China's socialist economy to capitalism. China's lively rural economy is a result of the small-peasant economy which abandoned collective farming and restored individual operation. The recovery of its urban economy is a result of relying on the individual entrepreneurs, the method of taking sole responsibility for profit or loss and the market economy. Shenzhen, praised by Communist China as the pacesetter for the

national economy, is a result of Hong Kong's capital and the capitalist mode of operation.

If he truly seeks truth from facts and respects reality, Deng Xiaoping should candidly acknowledge the facts enumerated above and admit that even the socialist Chinese mainland has to resort to capitalism and capitalist methods to revitalize the economy.

But Deng Xiaoping would not concede this point. Brushing aside the specifics of "results produced," he only discussed the import of foreign capital. He said: "China's open-door policy, permitting the entry of some capitalism, is to supplement the socialist development and help the growth of the socialist productive forces. When foreign capital comes to Shanghai, for instance, it does not mean the introduction of the capitalist system throughout the city. Nor is it thus with Shenzhen, which still follows the socialist system. Thus, Shenzhen is different from Hong Kong. Shenzhen will not move to Hong Kong in the future, nor will Hong Kong move to Shenzhen. China's main body is socialism."

Actually, China permits not only some foreign capitalism to enter its territory, but also the growth of what Lenin called the spontaneous forces of native capitalism. Naturally, under the situation where the CPC controls the political power of the state, the land and resources throughout the country, and all the large industries, the growth of some spontaneous capitalist forces and the entry of some foreign capital will not, within a given period of time be enough to basically change the nature of China's political power. However, one point is clear: Any factor which can promote China's economy is not socialist, but capitalist. Thus, if Communist China wishes to greatly improve its economy and stride into modernization, it has to adopt more capitalist modes of operation, and even eventually take the path of bureaucratic state capitalism. In other words, it has to enter such a state: The political power belongs to the CPC; the ownership of land, state resources and most of the large industries remains in the communist state; private capital spreads unchecked in the realms of agriculture, industry and commerce; the modes of operation of the capitalist economy expand in the various economic realms, leading finally to the capitalist consciousness of the communist bureaucrats and even their personal involvement in capitalist operation. This is the vertical view.

Horizontally, the economy of the China mainland in the coming 13 years will basically take the form of a three-tier cake. The first tier is the Shenzhen model. Rather than the socialist system claimed by Deng Xiaoping, Shenzhen actually follows the capitalist system under the control of the CPC. Thereafter, Xiamen, Shantou, Zhuhai and Hainan Island will follow suit. The second tier consists of the 14 coastal cities and certain economic development zones established in noncoastal areas. Under the Shenzhen model, the entire city opens to capitalism, but, under the model of the economic development zones, a specific area in a city is designated as the jail. In other words, a certain designated area in the city is opened to foreign investment. The third tier consists of Communist China's existing economic

regions. It will not be pure Communist Chinese economy in this tier either, and foreign capital will also permeate it. By 1997, after Hong Kong becomes China's special administrative zone, it will become a four-tier cake.

The Future of "One Country, Two Systems"

The "one country, two systems" concept has not taken shape in the Taiwan issue, but has attained a preliminary form in the Hong Kong issue. Its concrete substance is contained in the Sino-British "joint announcement" and its appendixes.

In one of the appendixes, Communist China formally announces that the "basic law" in the future will stipulate that the socialist system and policies will not be enforced in Hong Kong and that Hong Kong will preserve its existing capitalist system and living pattern for 50 years. The figure 50 years was, at the beginning, Deng Xiaoping's improvisation. According to Deng Xiaoping himself, when discussing with his Hong Kong friends how long Hong Kong's capitalism should continue after 1997, he said: "If it continues for 15 years, it seems too short. Might as well say 50 years! We'll talk 50 years later." These words indicate that Deng Xiaoping only planned on 15 years, but later, on the spur of the moment, he turned the digits around into 50.

Why did he not say 40 years, or 60, but 50? There is no scientific basis, but only a medium-length duration casually picked. Afterward, Deng Xiaoping supplemented it with: "The 50-year status quo is in connection with the fact that China needs 50 or 60 years before achieving modernization." It is Deng Xiaoping's way of thinking, but the Hong Kong people think otherwise. Had Deng Xiaoping specified a 15-year status quo, the Hong Kong people would be alarmed, decide that the days of capitalism in Hong Kong are numbered, and make advance plans of departure. Now, with the 50 years of status quo promised by Deng Xiaoping, plus the 13 years prior to 1997, the total is 63 years, producing a positive impact on the mood of the Hong Kong people.

Today, the question laid before everyone is whether the "one country, two systems" will work. In terms of the sincerity of Communist China to follow the concept in Hong Kong, most people have no doubt, because, economically speaking, for the continuation and development of Hong Kong's existing economy, Communist China has to continue its capitalism, for otherwise its entire economy will face collapse, and collapse will be detrimental to all sides, and even more so to Communist China. Thus, Communist China positively will keep its promise and allow capitalism in Hong Kong. Nevertheless, politically speaking, the "one country, two systems" concept to be introduced in Hong Kong in the future, I feel, absolutely cannot preserve in full the present measure of freedom. The relations between politics and economics are very subtle. As a rule, a free economy must be matched with free politics, for only thus will there be vitality in the free economy. Nevertheless, the examples of Taiwan and South Korea tell us that such areas and countries have no true political freedom, and yet their economy prospers just the same. The future of the "one country, two systems" concept will

turn into such a situation: In terms of "Hong Kong people governing Hong Kong," the "Hong Kong people" have to be masqueraded communists or individuals recognized by the CPC; therefore, it will actually be communists in charge. Economically, the capitalist system will be preserved as before, but politically, the network of communist control will be reinforced, the measure of freedom curtailed, the voice of the opposition diminished, and the truly independent public opinion center moved from Hong Kong to America.

In the past, Hong Kong was an area independent of the political situation of the China mainland. Even when a great famine hit the mainland in 1960, Hong Kong, at the most, only had to deal with the tides of refugees surging in from the mainland; even when the Great Cultural Revolution erupted on the mainland, Hong Kong, at the most, only had to undergo a brief period of campaign to "oppose the British and resist force." However, from now on, the situation is different, and any change on the China mainland will be closely linked with Hong Kong. If the mainland economy grows more open and more capitalist, then Communist China's tolerance of Hong Kong's capitalism will be greater; otherwise, the situation will develop in an inverse ratio.

How long will "one country, two systems" endure in Hong Kong hinges not on the binding force of the Sino-British joint announcement, but on the continuation or tightening of the open-door policy on the mainland.

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